THE HISTORY OF THE MAROONS,

FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR CHIEF TRIBE AT

SIERRA LEONE:

INCLUDING THE

EXPEDITION TO CUBA,

FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROCURING SPANISH CHASSEURS;

AND THE

STATE OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA

FOR THE LAST TEN YEARS:

WITH A

SUCCINCT HISTORY OF THE ISLAND

PREVIOUS TO THAT PERIOD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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THE HISTORY OF THE MAROONS.

LETTER IX.

Melancholy Situation of the Colony.—Conversation that suggested the idea of sending for Spanish Chasseurs.—Colonel Quarrell appointed Commissioner in an Expedition to Cuba.—Sails in the Schooner Mercury.—Question respecting the employing of Chasseurs stated.—The Mercury chased by another Schooner.—Arrival and Detention at Trinidad.—Passage through the Jardines.—The Mercury attacks a Guarda Costa by Mistake.—Arrival at Batabano.—Troops stationed there.—Mode of conveying the King's Duties and Merchandise to the Havanna.—Port of Xagua.—Arrival at Besucal.—Reception.—Marquisa de St. Felippe et St. Jago.—Conversation with her respecting Chasseurs.—Besucal, and the Marquisa's Territory.—Her Palace and Family.—The Commissioner proceeds to the Havanna.—Reception by the Governor Don Luis de las Casas.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

NEITHER the energy and determined activity of Lord Balcarres, nor the skill,

bravery, and ſucceſſes of General Walpole, ſeemed to avail in this war. The whole range of cockpits was open to the enemy: if annoyed in one they choſe another, and the conteſt had all the appearance of being an endleſs evil, or rather one that threatened the entire deſtruction of the iſland; for had this body of Maroons evinced that their rebellion was not a temporary ſtruggle, but a permanent and ſucceſsful oppoſition to the Government, it is highly probable that the example might in time have united all the turbulent ſpirits among the ſlaves in a ſimilar experiment, if not in the ſame intereſt; or indeed ſuch a decided triumph might have tempted numbers of the plantation negroes, unwilling before to change a ſtate of peace for warfare, to join the Maroons: at all events they would have been a rallying point for every diſcontented ſlave, and for all who dreading puniſhment were incited by their fears to eſcape. The lives of the coloniſts muſt have been ſpent in

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continual terror; maſſacre and depredation would have ſpread throughout the country, and all the credit of the iſland in Great Britain would have ſunk to nothing. To complete this miſerable picture, the foreign enemy, when fully aſſured of the ſtate of the colony, would, even though unable to attempt a deſcent, have kept the coaſts in conſtant alarm, and found means to maintain the ſpirit of rebellion, and perhaps to ſupply the rebels with arms. A peace obtained by ſupplication, as the terrors of ſome had led them to propoſe, would have been equally fatal and more diſgraceful. It was in this ſtate of affairs, and while General Walpole, whoſe firmneſs had reſcued the iſland from the ſhame of a precipitate avowal of deſpondence and inability, was bent on compelling the Maroons to ſolicit terms, that an unpremeditated converſation gave riſe to circumſtances that eventually put an end to a war, in which force and military ſkill alone might have been foiled for years.

Colonel Quarrell *, who had been upon ſervice with the troops in the mountains, was compelled by the ſtate of his health to leave the head-quarters, and to go down to the ſea-ſhore. There he met with an intelligent Spaniard, who, talking with him on the ſtate of the iſland, related an event, to which Colonel Quarrell paid the utmoſt attention, as he thought the ideas it ſuggeſted might prove of importance to the country. It ſeems that ſome years before, when the Britiſh abandoned the Muſquito-ſhore to the Spaniards, the latter were oppoſed by the native Indians, who had always ſhown the moſt determined enmity to them. They attempted in vain to take poſſeſſion of the country by means of a military force: in the courſe of a very few months they loſt, from ſurpriſes

* Colonel Quarrell wiſhed me not to entitle him according to his military rank, which he conſidered as temporary; but the time of which I treat fully juſtifies my giving him the title of the rank he then held, and ſtill holds, if he were called into ſervice.

and

and ambuſhes, nearly three regiments. Compelled to abandon the place, or fall upon ſome plan of counteracting the Indian warfare, they imported from Cuba thirty-ſix dogs and twelve chaſſeurs, who were ſent by the Alcalde Provinciale *, at the deſire of Don Juan Deſpolito, the Governor of the Havanna. Theſe auxiliaries were more formidable than the fineſt regiment of the moſt warlike nation could have been; and from the time of their being employed, neither ſurpriſe nor ambuſh annoyed the troops, the Spaniards ſoon ſucceeded in expelling the Muſquito Indians from the territory on the coaſt, and quietly occupied Black River, Blue-fields, and Cape Gracios a Deos. In whatever light the Philanthropiſt may view means of the gentleſt kind when uſed to drive men from their native lands, he cannot juſtly blame the harſheſt adopted at home, when ſelf-preſervation is the end

* The high-conſtable of the province whence the dogs and chaſſeurs came.

propoſed. Had the caſe been reverſed, had the Indians employed dogs in driving away the Spaniards and keeping them from their country, ſatisfaction, and not horror, would have been the emotion excited. It occurred to Colonel Quarrell, that the aſſiſtance of a certain number of the Cuba chaſſeurs would be attended with happy effects: he foreſaw that the very terror they would ſpread would induce the Maroons to ſubmit on proper terms; and he argued, that even if the Commander in Chief were compelled to bring them into actual ſervice, it would be better, and more for the intereſt of humanity, that ſome of the rebels ſhould be thus deſtroyed, than that the moſt barbarous maſſacres ſhould be committed on the inhabitants, and the colony ruined. Swayed by theſe motives, he ſuggeſted the ſcheme to the Speaker and ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Aſſembly, to be laid before the Lieutenant-Governor. The Houſe, however, miſconceived the plan: in their anxiety to

ſpare the lives of the troops in ſo unequal a warfare, they approved of the means propoſed, but contented themſelves with recommending that a pecuniary encouragement ſhould be given to the Spaniards trading to the North ſide of the iſland, to bring over a few dogs, in order to ſee what effect the importation would have. Colonel Quarrell, who had now retained the Spaniard with whom he had converſed, and two others in his pay, repreſented the inutility of this meaſure, preſſed the conducting of the buſineſs on ſurer grounds and a more extenſive plan, and, having obtained full information on the ſubject, offered to take the buſineſs upon himſelf, provided he were furniſhed with a veſſel and a letter from the Governor of Jamaica to the Spaniſh Governor at the Havanna, requeſting permiſſion for him to purchaſe dogs. The Government, having taken the offer into conſideration, acceded to the propoſal; a ſchooner called the Mercury, carrying twelve guns, was ſent down to

Bluefields, an open road at the weftern extremity of Jamaica; and a letter was tranfmitted to Colonel Quarrell, addreffed to Don Luis de las Cafas, the Governor at the Havanna, recommending the bearer of it to his attentions as a commiffioner for the purpofes mentioned in it, and likewife as a member of the legiflature, and a lieutenant-colonel of the troops. When the captain of the veffel delivered his difpatches, the commiffioner was ill with a fever: but fo anxious was he that nothing fhould delay the fervice, that he immediately went on board, and the captain requefting orders for the time of failing, he anfwered, that inftant. The crew of the fchooner confifted of four Britifh feamen, twelve Curaçoa negroes, and eighteen Spanifh renegadoes; but notwithftanding the unpromifing, or rather alarming appearance of fuch a fet of men, the commiffioner, with a friend*, whom he had invited to

* Captain Gilpin of the militia.

accompany him on the voyage, and their two ſervants, embarked at Bluefields in the end of the month of October 1795.

Let us now take leave of General Walpole and the Trelawney mountains, of the Maroons and the cockpits, for a few weeks; let us ſet ſail in the ſchooner, and let us accompany the commiſſioner in his expedition to Cuba, remembering, at the ſame time, that the ſole object of it was to quell the Maroon rebellion. We will not, however, take our departure till we have inveſtigated the juſtice of the means propoſed for the end in view. The argument has been ſtated thus:

" The Aſſembly of Jamaica were not unapprized that the meaſure of calling in ſuch auxiliaries, and uſing the canine ſpecies againſt human beings, would give riſe to much animadverſion in England; and that the horrible enormities of the Spaniards in the conqueſt of the new world,

would be brought again to remembrance. It is but too true, that dogs were uſed by thoſe Chriſtian barbarians againſt the peaceful and inoffenſive Americans, and the juſt indignation of mankind has ever ſince branded, and will continue to brand, the Spaniſh nation with infamy, for ſuch atrocities. It was foreſeen, and ſtrongly urged as an argument againſt recurring to the ſame means in the preſent caſe, that the prejudices of party, and the virulent zeal of reſtleſs and turbulent men, would place the proceedings of the Aſſembly on this occaſion, in a point of view equally odious with the conduct of Spain on the ſame blood-ſtained theatre, in times paſt. No allowance would be made for the wide difference exiſting between the two caſes. Some gentlemen even thought that the co-operation of dogs with Britiſh troops, would give not only a cruel, but a very daſtardly complexion to the proceedings of Government.

" To theſe and ſimilar objections, it was anſwered, that the ſafety of the iſland and the lives of the inhabitants were not to be ſacrificed to the apprehenſion of perverſe miſconſtruction or wilful miſrepreſentation in the mother country. It was maintained, that the grounds of the meaſure needed only to be fully examined, and fairly ſtated, to induce all reaſonable men to admit its propriety and neceſſity. To hold it as a principle, that it is an act of cruelty or cowardice in man to employ other animals as inſtruments of war, is a poſition contradicted by the practice of all nations. The Aſiatics have ever uſed elephants in their battles; and if lions and tygers poſſeſſed the docility of the elephant, no one can doubt that theſe alſo would be made to aſſiſt the military operations of man, in thoſe regions where they abound. Even the uſe of cavalry, as eſtabliſhed among the moſt civilized and poliſhed nations of Europe, muſt be rejected, if this principle be admitted; for wherein,

it was aſked, does the humanity of that doctrine conſiſt, which allows the employment of troops of horſe in the purſuit of diſcomfited and flying infantry, yet ſhrinks at the preventive meaſure of ſparing the effuſion of human blood, by tracing with hounds the haunts of murderers, and rouſing from ambuſh, ſavages more ferocious and blood-thirſty than the animals which track them?

"The merits of the queſtion, it was ſaid, depended altogether on the origin and cauſe of the war, and the objects to be obtained by its continuance; and the authority of the moſt celebrated writers on public law was adduced in ſupport of this conſtruction. 'If the cauſe and end of war,' ſays Paley, 'be juſtifiable, all the means that appear neceſſary to that end are juſtifiable alſo. This is the principle which defends thoſe extremities to which the violence of war uſually proceeds: for ſince war is a conteſt by force between parties

parties who acknowledge no common ſuperior, and ſince it includes not in its idea the ſuppoſition of any convention which ſhould place limits to the operations of force, it has naturally no boundary but that in which force terminates; the deſtruction of the life againſt which the force is directed.' It was allowed, with the ſame author, that uſeleſs and wanton barbarities derive no excuſe from the licence of war, of which kind is every cruelty and inſult that ſerves only to exaſperate the ſufferings, or to increaſe the hatred of an enemy, without weakening his ſtrength, or in any manner tending to procure his ſubmiſſion; ſuch as the ſlaughter of captives, ſubjecting them to indignities or torture, the violation of women, and in general the deſtruction or defacing of works that conduce nothing to annoyance or defence. Theſe enormities are prohibited not only by the practice of civilized nations, but by the law of nature itſelf, as having no proper tendency to accelerate the termination, or

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accomplish the object of the war, and as containing that which in peace or war is equally unjustifiable, namely, ultimate and useless mischief. Now all these very enormities were practised, not by the colonists against the Maroons, but by the Maroons against the colonists. Humanity therefore, it was said, was no way concerned in the expedient that was proposed, or any other by which such an enemy could be most speedily reduced *."

The Maroons, though not coming, more than other people at war, within the definition of the term murderers, with which they are branded in this statement of the argument, were, like most uncivilized people, and not unlike some civilized nations, hurried by unruly passions to acts of barbarity. Depredation, devastation, and massacre, disgrace the wars not only of savages, but of Christians, or nations so

* Edwards.

called.

called. What are the horrors of the Maroon war in comparifon with thofe we can trace throughout the French Revolution? Wherever we follow them, we fee the moft fhocking depravity of human nature. I have already fhown that the Maroons, fafe themfelves in their natural and impregnable garrifons, fent out parties to furprife and deftroy, to maffacre the unprepared, and to burn houfes and plantations. They had defied, they had foiled Britifh troops; the colonifts were in defpair; and it was with difficulty that General Walpole had prevailed upon an affembly of them to refrain from a conceffion that was pregnant with ruin. In fuch a fituation, what archfophift will maintain that delicacy was to be preferved in the means of removing fuch an evil? Were a man bit by a mad dog, would he fcruple to cut or burn out the part which had received the contagion? Do we not amputate a limb to fave the body? And if felf-prefervation dictate thefe perfonal

ſufferings, ſhall not the preſervation of a large community juſtify the uſe of the readieſt, perhaps the only means of averting its deſtruction? How different the caſe from that of the Spaniards hunting the native Americans! How different from the conduct of the Romans, ſitting at eaſe in their amphitheatres to enjoy the ſight of criminals encountering wild beaſts! How different from that moſt horrible of all horrid diverſions the Cryptia, in which the poor unoffending Helots were hunted and poniarded by the Spartans! Theſe were, indeed, caſes of wanton barbarity; but the man who ſays that the coloniſts of Jamaica were cruel in hiring the Spaniſh chaſſeurs, will be inconſiſtent if he does not condemn the practice of keeping watch-dogs, leſt they ſhould injure the nocturnal prowler; or if he allow that he might ſave his own life, or the lives of others, by ſetting his dog on a lawleſs band of aſſailants. The clamour, therefore, that was raiſed in England againſt the em-

ployment

ployment of the Spaniſh chaſſeurs was groundleſs and unjuſt, and it will be admitted to be the more ſo, when it is known, that all that was at firſt expected by the inhabitants from the uſe of the dogs, was to diſcover ambuſhes laid by the Maroons, in order that they might be defeated; and that many, doubting even this good effect, ridiculed the project: nay, the extent of the plan was unknown, and the mode of executing it uncertain. The commiſſioner, feeling for the ſituation of the iſland, had ſuggeſted it; the planters finding every other expedient tried in vain, and eager to ſeize on any hope, were anxious to try it; and Lord Balcarres, ſolicitous for their welfare, complied with their wiſhes, on their repreſenting the probability of its anſwering a good purpoſe. Cruelty was entirely foreign to the project: the iſland had been thrown into ſo ſingular and alarming a dilemma, that no means which might extricate it could be deemed cruel. The

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commiſſioner's humanity and kindneſs to his own black people are well known in Jamaica; I myſelf bear witneſs to it, having had an opportunity, by reſiding at his houſe for a conſiderable time, to be well acquainted with his diſpoſition; and I believe that his ſlaves enjoyed a far greater portion of happineſs than the generality of the poor in any country upon the face of the earth. But had it been otherwiſe, had the ſuggeſtion proceeded from a deſpotic and ferocious ſpirit, bent on the extermination of ſome of the human ſpecies by a barbarous expedient, it is not likely that a mild, humane, and beneficent mind, like that of Lord Balcarres, or that the majority of any aſſembly of educated men, would have concurred in the experiment. It appeared to them at that time, as it muſt appear now to every rational man, a choice of two evils; and the one wiſely choſen was trivial in compariſon with the magnitude of the other.

With reſpect to the ſcheme, it is a fact that the Lieutenant-Governor himſelf was, at the time of the commiſſioners's departure for Cuba, hardly aware of the extent of it. Colonel Quarrell was empowered to act according to the beſt of his judgment and diſcretion, but the letter to Don Luis de las Caſas, only requeſted permiſſion to purchaſe a few dogs. Had Lord Balcarres been apprized of the riſk the commiſſioner incurred, or the certainty of the oppoſition the plan in its full extent would meet from the Governor of the Havanna, it is probable that his Lordſhip would not have concurred in it. But very different were the ſentiments of the commiſſioner: having once impreſſed upon his mind that the execution of the deſign he had ſuggeſted would ſave the iſland from the ruin that threatened it, he reſolved to venture his life, and to uſe his own reſources, in accompliſhing his object. Nor, as it will ſoon appear, was it an eaſy or ſafe undertaking; the end was clear, the means of

effecting it obscure and doubtful. The commissioner determined not only to obtain dogs but chasseurs; he had to confide much in Spaniards, of whose fidelity he could not be certain; and while he was ostensibly purchasing a few dogs, he was to manage to procure their masters, without whom the animals would have been of no use. Such an undertaking required uncommon activity and a penetrating mind; as you will have occasion to observe more than once in the course of this expedition; to which we will now return.

The schooner on board of which the commissioner embarked, leaving the west end of Jamaica, stood to the northward in a direct course for the port of Trinidad, which it was necessary to make, in order to procure pilots to carry her through the islands and banks called the *Jardines del Reine*, an intricate navigation, to Batabano, another port lying in a very deep bay, within the isle of Pines, on the South side of

of Cuba, at the diſtance of about forty-five miles from the Havanna, acroſs the iſland.

As in giving you an account of this expedition, I wiſh to amuſe as well as inform you, I take it for granted you will not be diſpleaſed, that I do not conceive myſelf debarred by my ſubject from relating occurrences that took place in the courſe of it, even though not immediately neceſſary to the elucidation of my principal narrative. The traveller who, ſpeeding from poſt to poſt towards his journey's end, diſdains to caſt a look to the right or to the left, and who conſiders a little chat with a ſtranger on the way as loſs of time, may attain the object he propoſed at ſetting out, and get the ſooner over his road; but he ſurely travels more pleaſantly who carries with him a diſpoſition to delight in the tranſient ſcenes through which he paſſes, and in accidental events that offer themſelves to his enjoyment. If in

avoiding the trammels of hiſtorical compoſition, I hoped to ſhelter myſelf from the ſeverity of criticiſm, you, my dear friend, and my other readers, will, I truſt, be on your part pleaſed with the latitude I have gained by my candid artifice, of bringing to your view objects collaterally connected, and of making you as it were a party in the ſcenes I deſcribe.

Soon after leaving Jamaica, the commiſſioner's veſſel was chaſed for ſome hours by another ſchooner, which, on coming down ſo near as to perceive her chace to be an armed veſſel, hauled her wind, and ſtood preciſely the ſame courſe with the Mercury, which now in turn gave chace, and came up with the other veſſel about two o'clock in the morning. Without waiting for an explanation the latter fired, on which the Britiſh ſchooner gave her a broadſide. She then ſtruck, and proved to be Spaniſh, having two and thirty men, and ten guns, with a cargo of

of thirty-two thouſand dollars. At this period the Spaniards were in amity with England, and at war with France; but it was neceſſary to take and keep poſſeſſion of her till the next morning, in order to aſcertain what ſhe was. Except one man wounded, ſhe had ſuffered no damage from the attack in the night; and all the loſs ſhe ſuſtained was a few hundred dollars ſtolen by the Curaçoa negroes, who had been ſent on board to take charge of her. This ſhe merited for firing precipitately, which made it impoſſible for the commiſſioner to reſtrain his vagabond crew, who were indeed the ſcum of renegadoes, and from whom more danger was to be apprehended than from any privateer, however hoſtile. Throughout the paſſage, the few Engliſh who were on board the ſchooner, thought it neceſſary to keep poſſeſſion of the quarter-deck and cabin with arms. Privateering not being the object of the voyage, and the Spaniard making an apology for firing, declaring

 that

that, not being able to diſtinguiſh the Britiſh colours in the night, he had taken the Mercury for a French privateer, his veſſel was allowed to proceed on her voyage *.

Shortly after this encounter, the Britiſh ſchooner arrived at the port of Trinidad, where the commiſſioner immediately waited upon the Governor of the place, and, informing him that he had diſpatches from Lord Balcarres to Don Luis de las Caſas at the Havanna, requeſted to be provided with pilots for the paſſage of the Jardines to Batabano. He was very politely received, and aſſured that the pilots ſhould be ready *maniana*, that is, to-morrow. To-morrow, however, a grand ball was given

* This ſchooner, which was in a complete ſtate for cruizing, went on to Kingſton in Jamaica, and was there transferred to a ſet of men little better than banditti, who embarked to make the moſt of the chances afforded them at ſea. The Spaniard laid out his dollars for Britiſh goods, which he ſhipped on board other veſſels.

in honour of the arrival of the commissioner, who was ſo ill that he could hardly walk, having, as we have ſeen, left Jamaica with a fever on him: but Spaniſh politeneſs admitted of no refuſal. A large long-tail mule, capariſoned with a demi-peak ſaddle, immenſe gilt ſtirrups, and a large gilt bit to the bridle, and almoſt hid by a red laced holſter-cap and houſing, was diſpatched with a number of lanterns and muſic, to bring him up to the houſe of an officer of high rank, Don Tomas Munios, where he received the greateſt attention, and was informed by his Excellency the Governor, that the pilots ſhould be ready *maniana*. No pilots making their appearance the next day, the commiſſioner gently complained to the Governor, who laid the blame upon the naval officer, and promiſed that the fault ſhould be remedied *maniana*. Maniana was again attended with diſappointment: a Spaniſh officer of great diſtinction, from the Caſtle of Xagua, ſent his compliments,

with a meſſage to the Britiſh Colonel, informing him that he and his officers would dine with him on board his veſſel. The next day the naval officer found it his duty, and aſked permiſſion to ſearch among the crew of the ſchooner, to aſcertain if any of them were regiſtered at or belonged to the port of Trinidad; but this was peremptorily refuſed: it cauſed, however, the delay of that day. The commiſſioner, had again recourſe to the Governor, who urged him to poſtpone his voyage one day more, pledging his honour at the ſame time that the pilots ſhould be on board the ſchooner *maniana:* this he accompanied with the requeſt of a particular favour, which at laſt accounted for the detention of the ſchooner. Five ſmall veſſels, loaded with the king's duties, paid in ſugar and tobacco, were getting ready to ſail when the Mercury arrived at the port, and being now prepared, the Governor entreated the commiſſioner to take them under convoy to Batabano. To this he conſented with

 pleaſure,

pleaſure, not only from his diſpoſition to oblige perſons who had treated him with diſtinction, but becauſe he ſaw that the circumſtance would give farther weight to the conſideration he expected at the capital of the iſland. Several officers and gentlemen* availed themſelves of this opportunity of going round to the Havanna, having waited months at Trinidad for a ſafe conveyance. Among them was the Governor's ſon, a young officer about eighteen years of age, whom his father requeſted the commiſſioner to take charge of to the Havanna, at the ſame time

* One of them, Don Tomas Munios, diſplayed a ſpirit of gratitude that reflects the higheſt honour upon himſelf, and upon human nature. Some time after, a Jamaica merchant named Robinſon, going from Kingſton to Savannah-la-mar with a cargo, was taken by a Spaniſh privateer and carried into the port of Trinidad. Having mentioned that he was acquainted with the commiſſioner, it was told to Don Tomas Munios, who immediately took him out of the priſon where he had been lodged, entertained him at his own houſe, furniſhed him with money, and afterwards procured him a veſſel to return to Jamaica without being exchanged as a priſoner.

giving the youth leave to accompany him to Jamaica.

It ſeems that a French privateer ſchooner of fourteen guns had been cruizing within the iſle of Pines, taking every thing that attempted the paſſage of the Jardines. By ſome ſmall craft, which had arrived the day before through a very intricate and ſhallow paſſage, information was received that the privateer was then lying under Point Gordo, at the extremity of the paſſage. Relying upon this intelligence, every poſſible preparation was made for ſecuring the convoy and engaging the privateer, and the naval officer then preſented two pilots to the commiſſioner, deſiring him to hang them both if his veſſel ran aground. The paſſage was extremely intricate, and the pilots were placed one at the helm, and the other at the foretop-maſt-head. The ſchooner, though drawing only ten feet four inches water, brought up a line of diſturbed mud aſtern during the

the greater part of the firſt day. At night, ſhe anchored with the convoy, and next morning proceeded at day-dawn. About ten o'clock ſhe made Point Gordo, when there appeared, about half a mile off, an armed ſchooner lying at anchor with her foremaſt unrigged, and two boats with a number of men on the beach, evidently a part of the crew. The opportunity for deſtroying her being very favourable, the convoy was ordered to proceed under an eaſy ſail, while the Mercury hauled up cloſe under the ſtern of the ſchooner at anchor. The two boats full of men were now pulling off with the greateſt expedition, and it was thought right to cut up the veſſel before the men could get on board; accordingly a broadſide was poured in, but the guns being two much elevated, ſhe ſuffered more in her rigging than in her hull. Soon after the diſcharge, all her hands got in; it was, however, impoſſible for her to have eſcaped had it been her intention; and the Britiſh ſchooner having

put

put about, was preparing to give her another broadſide, when ſhe fortunately diſplayed Spaniſh colours, calling out to the Mercury at the ſame time to ſtop *for the love of God.* On this the Mercury again brought up under her ſtern, when a boat came alongſide with an officer, who informed the commiſſioner that the veſſel belonged to the King of Spain, and had only come out of port the day before, in company with another ſchooner, which was to be ſeen to leeward, in order to take a French privateer that had been cruizing on that part of the coaſt. An interchange of civilities followed this explanation; after which the Mercury bore up for her convoy, and paſſing cloſe by the other ſchooner, arrived the ſame evening at the port of Batabano. This little ſtraggling town, or rather village, is ſituated near a moraſs of three miles, that ſeparates it from the ſea, with which it communicates by a ſmall cauſeway almoſt covered with water. In the town a company of infantry was ſtationed,

tioned, with a detachment of horſe for the purpoſe of carrying expreſſes. The commanding officer, on being ſhown the addreſs of the commiſſioner's diſpatches, provided him with four horſes for himſelf, his companion, and their ſervants. He likewiſe gave them a guard of two dragoons, in compliment to the military rank of the commiſſioner, and perhaps partly for the purpoſe of ſerving as ſpies, to attend them to the capital, through Beſucal, a town in the mountains on the road to the Havanna. The commiſſioner was accompanied a conſiderable part of the way by twenty *caliſeros*, or mule drivers, with two hundred mules and horſes, laden with the King's duties, which he had convoyed in ſafety to the port of Batabano.

Such is the adherence of the Spaniards to old habits and practices, or ſuch their inveterate indolence, that although the road acroſs the country to the Havanna is very

very practicable for a carriage, and with little trouble might be made a very fine one, they had no mode of conveying the cargoes of the five veſſels arrived from Trinidad but on pack-horſes and mules. The greateſt part of the trade from the ſouth ſide of Cuba to the Havanna is carried on in the ſame manner, which the traders uſually prefer to the riſk attending the navigation by Cape Antonio and the Colorados, at the weſt end of the iſland, where they frequently ſuffer loſſes. From the ſame ſupine ſpirit it is that the port of Xagua, twenty miles to the weſtward of Trinidad, is almoſt entirely neglected. It might be made the fineſt harbour in the world. A narrow entrance, ſixty-two feet deep, and a hundred yards wide, is defended by a caſtle on a rock. The baſon within is nearly a circle, of a diameter of nine miles; the land riſes high all round in an eaſy aſcent, ſheltering it from every wind, and an inexhauſtible quantity of the largeſt cedars on the earth grows from the

ſummits

ſummits of the hills to the water's edge. No axe ever touches them, except that of ſome miſerable fiſherman, who fells a tree of a middling ſize, the neareſt at hand, to excavate it for a canoe.

The commiſſioner and his friend, with their retinue, arrived late at night at Beſucal, where fatigue and the fever, which continued on Colonel Quarrell, made the very firſt houſe an acceptable place of reſt. A cow-hide ſtretched upon a frame, with a mat, pillow, and ſheet upon it, was all the bedding it afforded. Satisfied with this couch, the commiſſioner retired to reſt; but had ſcarcely lain down, when he was ſurpriſed by a numerous attendance of viſitors, full dreſſed, who had been incited, ſome by civility and others by curioſity, to haſten to this miſerable petty inn. Better accommodation was offered by ſeveral hidalgos to the commiſſioner, who was now ſo ill as not to be able to

move again that night, which he regretted much, as among the invitations given him he received one from the lady paramount of the place, the *Marquiſa de St. Filippe et St. Jago*, who had commiſſioned a French officer, on parole at Beſucal, ſuppoſing that French was more familiar to the ſtranger than Spaniſh, to ſay that her palace and ſervices were at the command of the Engliſh officer. Next day, however, he availed himſelf of the flattering offer, though he could not but ſmile at the parade and pomp with which the invitation was attended. Paſſing through a conſiderable town, about a mile in length, he arrived at a very large houſe, externally not much unlike a priſon, but the interior of which had every thing to render it agreeable, and was in ſome reſpects grand. The Spaniard whoſe converſation had given riſe to the expedition, and whom the commiſſioner had taken as a guide, had told him that he was a native of this place, and that his family were ſome of

the very people he was in ſearch of. In this ſtatement he had ſtrictly adhered to truth, and on his arrival loſt no time in imparting to his particular friends the buſineſs on which he was come home. He had arrived at Beſucal before the commiſſioner, and had fully paved the way with the Marquiſa for the enterpriſe that was the object of the expedition.

The Marquiſa received the commiſſioner and his friend with great politeneſs, and entertained them moſt hoſpitably and kindly. By means of the guide, whoſe name was Pedraſſo, and who alſo acted as interpreter, ſhe was informed of the horrid war waged by the Maroons in Jamaica againſt the white inhabitants; and the barbarities of it were ſtrongly repreſented to her, in order that the impreſſion made upon her mind might intereſt her the more in favour of the miſſion to Cuba. She was told, that if the people could only be guarded againſt ſurpriſes, the Maroons

 would

would ſoon loſe all their arrogance, and ſue for peace; that the diſpatches to Don Luis de las Caſas would, no doubt, enſure permiſſion for purchaſing ſome dogs; and that, with her aid, a few of the Beſucal people might be induced to go with them to Jamaica. The proclamations offering rewards for killing or taking the Maroons were then read to her. The Marquiſa attended very graciouſly to the recital of theſe circumſtances; and obſerving that the rewards offered were of themſelves ſufficient to procure a number of her people with their dogs, added, that her influence ſhould not be wanting to inſtigate ſome of the beſt of the chaſſeurs to attend the commiſſioner on his return.

Beſucal is an extenſive town, containing about 5000 inhabitants, two-thirds of whom are mulattoes, quadroons, and other mixed grades between the white and black. This place, with the ſurrounding country to an extent of many miles every way,

including

including the towns of St. Filippe and St. Jago, is immediately under the government of the Marquiſa, who holds a diſtinct juriſdiction, over which the Government at the Havanna has no control. The various powers, which are there veſted in different hands, are here all centered in hers. She holds independent courts, and exerciſes ſupreme authority in whatever relates to the internal adminiſtration of affairs in her franchiſe, which ſhe enjoys as an hereditary right. The amount of her revenues is unknown; but it is ſaid that ſhe is exceedingly rich. The mildneſs of her government renders the people very happy; none of them, however, in any of her towns appear to be very opulent, yet the churches are richly endowed, and among them are ſeveral convents. The Marquiſa has a numerous retinue, and lives in ſome ſtate, though leſs ſplendidly ſince the departure of the Marquis her huſband, paſſing a greater portion of her time in retirement during

his abſence. Rights nearly ſovereign, and an immenſe fortune, added to the perſonal beauty and uncommon charms both of face and mind with which the Marquiſa was endowed, engaged the attention of a young nobleman of high rank, to whom ſhe was married at the early age of fourteen. At the time of the commiſſioner's arrival, the Marquis, who was ſaid to be rather gay and diſſipated, was at Madrid, where he had an appointment at court, and whither he had gone about four years before, to attend to a law-ſuit. This he had gained, but royal notice, and the luxuries of the capital of Spain, ſeemed to poſſeſs attractions too powerful to ſuffer his return to Beſucal. He had written repeated aſſurances of ſetting out for home, which had been as repeatedly forgotten. His ſon, a youth ſixteen years of age, was hereditary colonel of a regiment with which he was on duty at Metanzos. The Marquiſa's domeſtic circle was then ſmall, conſiſting of her daughter, who was ſix years old,

and her coufin, a girl of fixteen. Her confeffor was conftantly in the houfe, and with Monfieur L'Epée, the French officer whom fhe fent to invite the commiffioner, frequently conftituted the whole party at the palace. She was defirous of detaining the commiffioner for fome time, but admitted of his apology for leaving her, on the promife of a longer ftay when he returned. He accordingly left Befucal, in company with his friend, as fpeedily as poffible, and, taking with him his guide Pedraffo, arrived about the 3d of November at the Havanna, where he was received in a very flattering manner by Don Luis de las Cafas, who, as was ufual among men of rank in that country, was profufe of civility, offering his purfe, and a conftant cover at his table. He readily complied with the requeft contained in the commiffioner's difpatches, granting permiffion to make the purchafes required; and adding with great urbanity, that from refpect to Lord Balcarres, he fhould on

the present occasion overlook an injunction of his court, against admitting foreigners within his government, the only exception to which was in favour of those traders who came with new negroes *.

* Votes of the Assembly of Jamaica, 1796. See Appendix, No. 2.

LETTER X.

News of Peace between France and Spain.—Jealousy of the Officers in Administration at the Havanna.—Character of the Governor.—Mutiny on board the Mercury.—How quelled.—Doctor Dominguez.—Proclamation relative to the Rewards for taking Maroons translated, and sent into the Mountains of Besucal.—Description of the Person of a Spanish Lawyer.—Account of the Chasseurs del Rey.—Instance of their taking Assassins who had plundered an English Ship.—Description of the Men and Dogs.—Those of Besucal.—Employment, Mode of Pursuit, and Manner of Living.—Dress of a Chasseur.—Articles of Agreement entered into with the Chasseurs.

THE day before the commissioner reached the Havanna, news had arrived by a circuitous route of the peace that had been concluded between France and Spain; but as the port had been long blocked up, so

that few veſſels had entered, and none from Europe, the particulars of the treaty were unknown. The commiſſioner was the firſt who ſupplied them with the articles of it, and the joy they ſpread was unbounded. The merchants rejoiced that their ſhips could once more go to ſea with ſafety, and the prieſts were happy in an occaſion to diſplay their devotion and their pageantry. The joyous event was celebrated with military parade and religious proceſſions. Nothing elſe was thought of. At the grand cathedral, three whole days were ſpent in prayers for the ſouls of thoſe who had fallen in the war. When, however, the emotions of pleaſure began to ſubſide, they were mingled with apprehenſions of the conſequence of entering into a ſeparate treaty of peace; the reſentment of the Engliſh was foreboded, and the great and only dread was a war with England.

No civilized people are ſo profoundly ignorant of the politics of other nations, and ſo little informed of their own, as the Spaniards in general. They both hate and dread the French; to the Engliſh they have no objection, but on the ſcore of religion; and they have charity enough to regret that a people in other reſpects ſo good ſhould be damned: for their Gallic friends they have no ſuch charity.

Although the conſideration which Don Luis de las Caſas had ſhown for Lord Balcarres was expreſſed merely as a polite attention, he would have been juſtified in making a merit of it; for the Governors of the Havanna are placed in a very ticklish ſituation. It has always been the petty policy of the Spaniſh court to keep up a jealouſy among the different officers of the higher departments in the colonies, encouraging them to lodge complaints and informations againſt one another; for which reaſon the Governor, Intendant of Marine,

Marine, Chief Judge, and other ſuperior officers, are ſeldom known to be on good terms. Had it been poſſible, ſo worthy and honourable a character as Don Luis muſt have conciliated all parties, and he apparently ſtood well with all: but while his heart aſſured him that he was entitled to their cordiality, his information and wiſdom taught him to diſtinguiſh appearance from reality. This nobleman, who held the rank of Lieutenant-General in Spain, was an excellent and experienced officer, and had been trained in the ſervice of his country on the continent of Europe. He was ſuſpected of a tendency to republican principles, though not of Jacobiniſm; and it has been thought owing to this ſuſpicion, that he was precluded from the uſual ſucceſſion of the Governors of the Havanna, firſt to the Vice-Royalty of of Santa Fé, and afterwards to that of Mexico: for he had received notice that he was to be appointed to the command of the troops in Pampeluna, which was by

no

no means considered as an adequate mark of the favour his rank, character, and merit, entitled him to expect from the Spanish government. The commissioner, apprized of the situation in which Don Luis stood, regulated his conduct accordingly, in order to avoid every ground of umbrage or jealousy that might arise from any marked attentions of the Governor towards him. He only returned the visits he received, and at such times as he knew few people would be at the Government house.

The commissioner had been but a very short time at the Havanna, when he received an express from the captain of his schooner at Batabano, informing him that the crew were in a mutinous state, and that it was to be feared they had a design of running away with the vessel. The captain and the three British seamen on board were living in a state of siege. They had possession of the cabin, where they

they remained with their ſmall arms, having turned the two after-guns to command the deck forward, and having ſecured the bulkheads below. No aſſiſtance was to be obtained from the few ſmall guarda coſtas in the port, who were afraid of a banditti that neither acknowledged, nor was acknowledged, by any government; raſcals that cared not againſt what country they fought ſo they could but plunder. Had it been the intention of the agent who provided the ſchooner, to defeat the object of the expedition, nothing could have been more effectual than embarking ſo villanous a crew; but it muſt be remembered that the ſchooner was diſpatched in haſte, and that Britiſh ſeamen were not at the time to be obtained. On receiving the expreſs from Batabano, the commiſſioner immediately applied to the Governor, and obtained permiſſion to engage ſuch Britiſh ſeamen as he could procure at the Havanna. Loſing no time, he was ſoon able to diſpatch eighteen picked men acroſs the

country

country on horſeback, with guides; and they fortunately arrived in time to ſave the veſſel. Four ringleaders of the mutiny were ſent aſhore; at the head of them a villain named Coro, who, it now appeared, had committed ſeveral horrid murders, and the laſt juſt before he entered on board the ſchooner. Had it not been for the diſſenſions between the Spaniards and the Curaſçoa men, the veſſel would certainly have been carried off, before the Britiſh tars could have reached Batabano. The fierce vagabonds were continually fighting, and frequently wounded each other with long ſharp knives, of which each had one always ſtuck in his belt. Scenes of this kind were perpetually recurring during the paſſage from Jamaica, and it was as dangerous to interpoſe in their broils as difficult to pacify the paſſionate ſavages. The commiſſioner, however, with the aſſiſtance of Captain Gilpin, had managed to keep them under ſome command, which

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in their abſence the captain of the ſchooner found impoſſible.

Another occurrence took place at this time, which added greatly to the commiſſioner's ſolicitude reſpecting the iſſue of his expedition; his faithful guide, Pedraſſo, fell ſick of the yellow fever. The poor fellow was in very imminent danger, but recovered, owing his life to the great attention and ſkill of a medical gentleman, ſettled at the Havanna, named Dominguez. And here, my friend, to make you acquainted with Doctor Dominguez, I muſt digreſs a little: not that I mean to imitate the writings of Sterne, who, a great imitator himſelf, has had but too many ſub-imitators. But I hope that the few digreſſions I admit in the taſk I have undertaken, will neither ſeem unconnected, nor prove unamuſing. Doctor Dominguez is a young Scotchman, perhaps the only one of the name Scotland could ever boaſt; but be that as it may, he reflected honour

on

on his country, where he had received a liberal education. Like many others of the ſons of Caledonia, it was the ſole gift he received from her; but then it was one of the higheſt value, far above fortune or rank without it; and, to the eternal honour of Caledonia, it is a gift ſhe beſtows on almoſt all her children. Sent into the world to ſeek his fortune, he was, by ſome inducement, unknown to me, led to try it among the Spaniards in Cuba, where, having evinced his ſkill, he was at firſt employed in the care of ſeveral eſtates in the country. Theſe he was ſoon obliged to relinquiſh through the jealouſy of the Spaniſh practitioners. One of them, about a year before, attempted to aſſaſſinate him in his bed, which the villain ſuppoſed he had completed, having cut his throat and given him ſeveral wounds. Fortunately they were not mortal; uſing therefore every caution to preſerve life, he made the beſt of his way to the Havanna, where he was charitably received by a gentleman

to whom he was a little known. The greateſt care was taken of him, and he was even attended by the daughter of his hoſt: nor did the young lady remit her attentions in the ſmiling ſtages of his convaleſcence, for the doctor-patient was not only learned, but agreeable and handſome. One evening the young ſignora was found by her parents ſitting on his bed, but not adminiſtering phyſic. A pretty ſituation for an Iberian miſs! The doctor roundly aſſeverated the purity of his lovely nurſe, the nurſe bluſhed and blubbered, while the intruding Spaniard and his wife were loud for ſaving a daughter's honour. It was in vain that the young Paracelſus proteſted his own innocence, as well as the virtue of the damſel; nothing but a marriage would convince the old people of either. "But my name, country, and religion, ſignor," ſaid the Caledonian. "Become a Spaniard," replied the father. "Change your name," ſaid the mother. "He is half a catholic already," added the amiable Leonora,

nora, wiping away her tears. The girl was beautiful, the family was powerful, and the Doctor thought the marriage a much preferable risk to that of his throat being cut a second time. He married the handsome Spaniard, dropped his own name, Halliday, and took that of Dominguez. Protected by the influence of his wife's family in the exercise of his profession at the Havanna, his merit soon established the highest reputation, exciting the jealousy of the Spanish physicians, who, though they spare his throat, oppose and thwart him, and do all they can to prejudice their countrymen against him. He was peculiarly successful in treating the yellow fever, and had written a treatise on the subject, which it was his intention to send to England to be printed*. But whatever the

* Dr. Halliday, or Dominguez, published his Treatise upon the Yellow Fever, with the successful mode in which he had treated it at the Havanna. It was tried, but not with the same success, in Jamaica. The failure there, however, is not a good reason for doubting its success in Cuba,

the merit of the profeſſor, the profeſſion itſelf was not much reſpected among the Spaniards. They ſuffered their maladies to take their courſe too long, frequently calling in Dominguez and the Bon Dieu together, and generally both too late.

The ſchooner being now ſecured by the Britiſh ſeamen ſent acroſs the country, the commiſſioner bent his thoughts upon procuring chaſſeurs as ſpeedily as poſſible. The proclamations offering rewards for

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Cuba, as the Faculty admit that habit and conſtitution may diſpoſe the diſorder to leſs virulence in ſome people than in others. That this difference ſhould prevail among the Spaniſh ſeamen is not to be wondered at, when we conſider, in the firſt inſtance, their habits of temperance; and in the next, that in their change of climate from the ports in Old Spain to thoſe of Cuba, the moſt northerly of the Weſt India iſlands, except the Bahamas, the difference of climate is by no means ſuch as from Britain to Jamaica. The principle of Dr. Halliday's practice was approved, but the rapid progreſs of the diſorder among the Britiſh in Jamaica, was ſuch as not to admit of a preparation ſo tardy, or even of any, before the more powerful checks were applied.

taking Maroons were tranſlated into Spaniſh, and diſpatched to the mountains of Beſucal, and a confidential lawyer was employed to draw up articles of agreement with the chaſſeurs. Let no man judge by appearance: that of this ſon of the quill was much againſt him. He was a very tall, meagre, ſwarthy man, of the colour of a mulatto; his long greaſy black hair was queued in a tail of three feet in length; his coat of brimſtone colour, hung very low, and buttoned over like a ſurtout. In ſhort, he might have been taken for an officer of the holy order of St. Hermadad, or an advocate for the Court of Inquiſition. He proved, however, to be leſs a *maniana* man than the commiſſioner had feared; for on being well paid for the expedition, he completed the articles of agreement in tolerable good time. They were diſpatched by Pedraſſo, and being ſupported by the influence of the good Marquiſa, operated admirably on the chaſſeurs. It was fortunate that there was no circulation of

newfpapers in this part of the world, and that the knowledge of the events of one place is not fpeedily conveyed to another, as in the end it would have embarraffed, if not totally overthrown, the commiffioner's views. The people at the Havanna knew no more what was paffing at Befucal, than they did of the occurrences at Pekin.

The commiffioner every where met with the greateft hofpitality, and received the politeft attentions from the moft refpectable families. He was particularly obliged to an Englifh Guinea-merchant, named Allwood, refiding at the Havanna, through whofe influence with perfons of the higheft rank and appointments he had great advantages, many interefting themfelves in promoting his views. One of them, Don Manuel de Seias, the Alcade Provinciale, commanded about fix and thirty chaffeurs, who were in the King's pay. The employment of thefe is to

traverſe the country for the purpoſe of purſuing and taking up all perſons guilty of murder and other offences, in which they ſeldom fail of ſucceſs, no activity on the part of the offenders being able to elude their purſuit. An extraordinary inſtance occurred about a month before the commiſſioner arrived at the Havanna. A fleet from Jamaica, under convoy to Great Britain, paſſing through the gulf of Mexico, beat up on the north ſide of Cuba. One of the ſhips, manned with foreigners, chiefly renegado Spaniards, being a dull ſailer, and conſequently lagging aſtern, ſtanding in with the land at night, was run on ſhore, the captain, officers, and the few Britiſh hands on board murdered, and the veſſel plundered by the Spaniſh renegadoes. The part of the coaſt on which the veſſel was ſtranded, being wild and unfrequented, the aſſaſſins retired with their booty to the mountains, intending to penetrate through the woods to ſome remote ſettlements on the ſouth ſide, where they

hoped to ſecure themſelves, and elude all purſuit. Early intelligence of the crime, however, had been conveyed to the Havanna, and the aſſaſſins were purſued by a detachment of twelve of the Chaſſeurs del Rey, with their dogs. In a few days they were all brought in and executed. The head and right arm of each were ſuſpended in frames, not unlike parrot-cages, which were hung on various gibbets, at the port and other conſpicuous places on the coaſt, near the entrance of the harbour.

The dogs carried out by the Chaſſeurs del Rey are perfectly broken in, that is to ſay, they will not kill the object they purſue unleſs reſiſted. On coming up with a fugitive, they bark at him till he ſtops, they then couch near him, terrifying him with a ferocious growling if he ſtirs. In this poſition they continue barking to give notice to the chaſſeurs, who come up and ſecure their priſoner. Each chaſſeur, though

he can hunt only with two dogs properly, is obliged to have three, which he maintains at his own coſt, and that at no ſmall expence. Theſe people live with their dogs, from which they are inſeparable. At home the dogs are kept chained, and when walking with their maſters, are never unmuzzled, or let out of ropes, but for attack. They are conſtantly accompanied with one or two ſmall dogs called finders, whoſe ſcent is very keen, and always ſure of hitting off a track. Dogs and bitches hunt equally well, and the chaſſeurs rear no more than will ſupply the number required. This breed of dogs, indeed, is not ſo prolific as the common kinds, though infinitely ſtronger and hardier. The animal is the ſize of a very large hound, with ears erect, which are uſually cropped at the points; the noſe more pointed, but widening very much towards the after-part of the jaw. His coat, or ſkin, is much harder than that of moſt dogs, and ſo muſt be the whole ſtructure

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of the body, as the ſevere beatings he undergoes in training would kill any other ſpecies of dog. There are ſome, but not many, of a more obtuſe noſe, and which are rather ſquarer ſet. Theſe, it may be preſumed, have been croſſed by the maſtiff, but if by this the bulk has been a little increaſed, it has added nothing to the ſtrength, height, beauty, or agility, of the native breed.

The chaſſeur has no other weapon than a long ſtrait muſchet, or couteau, longer than a dragoon's ſword, and twice as thick, ſomething like a flat iron bar ſharpened at the lower end, of which about eighteen inches are as ſharp as a razor. The point is not unlike the old Roman ſword. The ſteel of them is excellent, and made at Guanabacoa, about three miles from the Havanna. The handle of the muſchet is without a guard, but ſcolloped to admit the fingers and ſuit the graſp. Theſe men, as we have ſeen, are under an officer of high

high rank, the Alcade Provinciale, and receive a good pay from the Government, besides private rewards for particular and extraordinary services. They are a very hardy, brave, and desperate set of people, scrupulously honest, and remarkably faithful.

A body of men of the same description and character reside at Besucal, within the Marquisa's jurisdiction. These are not in the King's pay, but are chiefly employed, like the Maroons in Jamaica, in scouring the mountains of this extensive country to take runaways, for which they have a fixed reward, and to attack all bodies of negroes collected for hostile purposes, which is sometimes occasioned by the rigour exercised on the Spanish plantations: for although in other employments, and particularly in domestic service, the slaves are treated kindly, and live a very easy life, it must be owned that the state of slavery on the settlements is not

unat-

unattended with ſeverity. The greateſt commotions, however, have been occaſioned by Spaniſh piety. Many of the largeſt and beſt ſugar eſtates in the iſland of Cuba belong to the different eccleſiaſtical orders, who are the moſt rapacious of planters. Under the maſk of diſcouraging a vicious intercourſe with the ſexes, ſome of them religiouſly reſolved to purchaſe only male negroes; a devout auſterity impoſed upon the poor fellows, which, would the good Fathers candidly confeſs it, would appear to originate in the temporal policy of *Quærenda pecunia primum eſt*, it being thought that men can do more work than women. Deprived of connexions reſulting from one of the chief laws of nature, and driven to deſperation, the unhappy negroes, not unlike the firſt Romans, have been known to fly to neighbouring eſtates, ſeize on the women, and carry them off to the mountains. There, in order to ſecure and defend themſelves, they fell upon ſome Spaniards, killed them,

them, and thus procuring a few fire arms, lances, and cutlaſſes, attempted to make a reſiſtance againſt the laws: but in vain; a few of the Beſucal people, with their dogs, have always proved an overmatch for them.

The activity of the chaſſeurs no negro on earth can elude; and ſuch is their temperance, that with a few ounces of ſalt for each, they can ſupport themſelves for whole months on the vegetable and farinacious food afforded by the woods. They drink nothing ſtronger than water, with which, when at a diſtance from ſprings, they are copiouſly ſupplied by the wild pine, by the black and grape withes, which are about two inches in diameter, and the roots of the cotton-tree. Of the laſt, ſix feet junked off the ſmaller part of the root, where it tapers to the thickneſs of a man's thigh, will yield ſeveral gallons of water. In the greateſt drought theſe reſources ſeldom fail. For the wild pine they are

obliged to climb trees; but that they do almoſt with the velocity of a monkey. This plant takes root on the body of a tree, and the leaves of it are ſo formed as to catch the rain and conduct it to a reſervoir at the baſe, where being never expoſed to the ſun, it is found delightfully freſh and cool. But the eaſieſt method of obtaining water in the woods, and with leſs delay on a march, is from the black and grape withes: it is done with greater expedition than drinking at a ſpring. The chaſſeur catches a pendent withe, which, with his muſchet, he divides about two feet from the ground, and applies the end of the withe, as it hangs, to his mouth, or to his dog's, who indicates his thirſt: he then cuts the withe off, about ſix feet higher, keeping the upper end elevated, when the air being admitted above, he receives through the porous fibres of it near a quart of delightful cold water. With reſpect to animal food, if any of them happen to deſire it, they find no diffi-

difficulty in obtaining it. The little finder, if ſet on, but not otherwiſe, will ſoon bay one of the wild hogs with which the woods abound; the animal, retreating for ſhelter to the trunk of a tree, is immediately transfixed with a lance. The men cure as much of the fleſh as they think they will have occaſion for, by ſcoring it internally to the ſkin, ſprinkling it with ſalt, and ſmoking it; over the ſmoke they throw ſome aromatic leaves, which not only add to its flavour, but aſſiſt in preſerving it. The meat thus cured will keep for months, and is eſteemed a very great dainty by the moſt refined Epicures. It is in fact the jirked hog, already mentioned in the account of the Maroon mode of life. The part of the hog not preſerved is given to the dogs. The purſuit of the game is entirely the province of the finder; the larger dogs, from their training, would paſs a hog without notice; were one of them to bark at a hog, he would be ſeverely puniſhed. The chaſſeurs beat their dogs moſt unmercifully,

cifully, uſing the flat ſides of their heavy muſchets. When they are going out on ſervice, the large chains in which they are kept at home are taken off, and a light, but well-twiſted, cotton-rope ſubſtituted, to which the muzzle and collar joined together are attached at one end, while the other is fixed to the belt of the chaſſeur; who, when a purſuit is to be made, ſlips them off, ſecuring them round his waiſt with the rope to which they are tied, draws his muſchet, and puſhes forward nearly as faſt as his dogs; for the latter are impeded by the underwood, and are ſometimes ſo entangled as to require the aſſiſtance of their maſters to cut their way through the difficulty which obſtructs their proceeding. The greateſt privation felt by a chaſſeur in ſervice is the want of a ſegar, which he muſt not uſe in the woods, where the ſcent, from the freſhneſs of the trees and ſtillneſs of the air, continues long ſuſpended, and is gradually ſpread in the atmoſphere, by which the company could

not

not but be betrayed, in ſpite of the great ſilence which they obſerve on their marches. At other times the ſegar is hardly ever out of their mouths.

I muſt now complete your idea of a Spaniſh chaſſeur, by giving you a deſcription of his dreſs. You may imagine it will be brief, for the wearer is not a man of faſhion, and he lives beneath a vertical ſun. A check ſhirt open at the collar ſo as to expoſe the neck, from which hangs a ſmall crucifix; a wide pair of trowſers, alſo check; a ſtraw hat, or rather one manufactured of the moraſs thatch divided into ſmall filaments, ſeven or eight inches in the rim, with a ſhallow round crown, and very light; add his belt and ſword, already deſcribed, and a pair of untanned leather ſhoes. Into this dreſs put a man with a Spaniſh countenance, ſwarthy but animated, a perſon above the middle ſize, thin but not meagre: to his belt affix the cotton ropes, and imagine them attached by collars round the

necks of his dogs, and you will have a finiſhed picture of him.

Beſides his untanned ſhoe, the chaſſeur often contrives in the woods a curious defence for his feet, which is greatly preferable. Having ſkinned the thighs and hocks of the wild hog, he thruſts his foot into the raw hide as far as he can force it, then cuts a ſmall ſlip at the inſtep, and with his knife takes off the ſuperfluous ſkin behind, adapting the remainder to his ancle and the lower part of his leg. The pliant hide takes the ſhape of a cloſe ſhort half boot, fitting like a glove on the foot, with a lengthened uſeleſs projection beyond the toe, ſomething reſembling the modern faſhion of our beaux. This contrivance will laſt a march of weeks, or months; but once taken off, the ſkin dries, ſhrivels, and becomes uſeleſs. There are *porco zopatos* made of dried hides, that reach to the calf of the leg; but they

they are wide, hard, and not pliant to the feet.

The Besucal chasseurs had not above seventy dogs properly broke; the others, of which they had many, though of the same breed, will kill the object they pursue: they fly at the throat, or other part of a man, and never quit their hold, till they are cut in two. These dogs, however, are seldom, if ever, carried out till perfectly trained.

The articles of agreement between the commissioner and the chasseurs were as follows:

"Don Guillermo Dawes Quarrell, Lieutenant-colonel of Militia, and his Britannic Majesty's Commissary, on the one part, and the undersigned individuals on the other, have agreed to the following articles:

" 1*st*. That we, the underſigned, oblige ourſelves to go to the iſland of Jamaica, taking each three dogs, for the hunting and ſeizing negroes.

" 2*d*. That, when arrived at the ſaid iſland, and informed of the ſituation of the runaway or rebellious negroes, we oblige ourſelves to practice every means that may be neceſſary to purſue, and apprehend with our dogs, ſaid rebellious negroes; ſettling beforehand the proper time and mode of our excurſions with that government, who are to ſupply us with every aſſiſtance that may be judged neceſſary, ſuch as troops, arms, and ammunition.

" 3*d*. That our ſtay in the ſaid iſland ſhall be three months, counted from the day of our embarking at Batabano; and for our ſervices during which time we are to be allowed two hundred dollars each; one hundred of which is to be paid down,

down, and the other at the expiration of the three months.

" *4th.* That besides the two hundred dollars above stipulated, all our expences of maintenance, in sickness or in health, shall be borne by the said D. Guillermo Dawes Quarrell, or the Government of Jamaica, from the time we embark at Batabano to our return to the said place.

" *5th.* That if, at the expiration of our being three months in the island of Jamaica, that Government should consider our residence there for a longer time necessary, it then shall be at our option to make a new agreement; and in case any of us may wish to return immediately, that Government then shall provide us with a passage to Batabano.

" *6th.* That being informed that the Government of Jamaica offers a reward of 960 dollars for apprehending any of the

rebellious negroes, agreeable to proclamation published in that iſland; we hereby agree to ſubmit ourſelves to ſuch repartition as that Government may make of ſuch reward betwixt us and the auxiliary troops that may aſſiſt us, this reward being totally independent of thoſe expreſſed in the third and fourth articles.

"And, having unanimouſly agreed to all the foregoing articles, we promiſe to abide by them faithfully and exactly; and furthermore, that we will all of us, with our dogs, be at Batabano on the evening of the 1ſt of December, ready to embark*."

Theſe articles being drawn up according to the wiſh and intentions of the chaſſeurs, the commiſſioner was eager to have them executed by the parties, and to fulfil the clauſe which bound him to make an immediate advance of a hundred dollars

* Votes of the Houſe of Aſſembly.

each.

each. He diſpatched the money on mules to the mountains of Beſucal, and, flattering himſelf that he had made ſuch arrangements as would ſecure a ſafe and eaſy clearance from the port of Batabano, prepared to leave the Havanna.

LETTER XI.

A respectable Interpreter unacquainted with any Language. —Don Luis refuses the number of Chasseurs required. —The Commissioner detained by the Consulat.—Leaves the Havanna, and returns to Besucal.—Hospitality and Assistance of the Marquisa de St. Felippe et St. Jago. —The Chasseurs proceed with their dogs to a Rendezvous near Batabano.—The Commissioner leaves Besucal.—Finds the Officer at Batabano relieved by a Mexican Lieutenant.—Monsieur L'Epée accompanies the Commissioner.—The Chasseurs refuse to embark.—Cause of their Refusal.—The Mexican sends an Express to the Governor. The Commissioner guarded.—Measures taken by him to escape from Cuba with the Chasseurs. Their Scruples removed.—Amusements during the Commissioner's Detention.—Escape and Embarkation with the Chasseurs.—Pursued by two Guarda Costas. —The Schooner in danger of Shipwreck.—Crocodillos at Cayo Blanco.—The Chasseurs endeavour to compel the Commissioner to go into Trinidad.—The Schooner bears away for Jamaica.—Chases a French Privateer. —Arrives at Montego Bay.—Fired upon by the Fort. —The Chasseurs and Dogs landed.—The Commissioner's Reception.

By the interest of Mr. Allwood with the colonel of a regiment, a detachment of

of which was on duty under a captain at Batabano, matters were ſo arranged, that the commiſſioner on his arrival there, was to be permitted to paſs without any inquiry or interruption. He therefore conceived the greateſt difficulty removed; and, meeting the Governor at a public entertainment, informed him of his intention to leave the Havanna. When the commiſſioner was firſt preſented to Don Luis de las Caſas, he had unluckily made choice of a worthleſs fellow for an interpreter, whom the Governor did not think it neceſſary to employ, requeſting the commiſſioner to ſpeak Engliſh, which, though Don Luis could not ſpeak fluently, he underſtood ſufficiently well: he converſed in French himſelf, and in this manner all communications between them continued to be eaſily made. Previous to the commiſſioner's mentioning his departure to the Governor, he had been dining in company, where ſpeaking of the Engliſh-French converſation he had with his Excellency, an old German

German officer, commandant at the Punto, offered to go with him as interpreter when he was to take leave. The offer amuſed the company, and was accepted by the commiſſioner, who in the evening jocularly told the Governor, that he had found a more reſpectable interpreter, whom he would bring with him next day, as he purpoſed to wait upon his Excellency for any diſpatches he might chooſe to honour him with for Lord Balcarres. Next day, at the appointed hour, the German colonel called on the commiſſioner, full dreſſed, to accompany him to the Government houſe, where, on his being introduced, Don Luis ſaid with a ſmile, he preſumed that he was not the interpreter meant. Being aſſured he was, and upon a voluntary offer, the Governor laughed heartily: "I never underſtand much," ſaid he, "of what Frederic attempts to communicate to me in any language, particularly in Spaniſh. He is almoſt as unintelligible in French, and has lived ſo long out of his own country,

that he has even forgot his mother tongue: in ſhort, Frederic does not know a language upon earth; and as his aſſiſtance is not very neceſſary, we will purſue our uſual mode."

Having received his diſpatches, the commiſſioner, rendered too confident by the attention which had been ſhown him, applied to Don Luis to be allowed to add to his paſſport the names of a few men to accompany the dogs, and preſented a liſt of twenty. Far from conſenting, the Governor expreſſed ſurpriſe at the commiſſioner's ſuppoſing he would ſanction the recruiting of men in the dominions of his Catholic Majeſty, and particularly in favour of a Power at war with another with which a treaty of peace was juſt concluded. For the purpoſe, however, of taking care of the dogs that had been purchaſed, he conſented to their being attended by about ſix men. Though the commiſſioner had bought only ſix or eight dogs,

dogs, he had received about as many more in presents from some of the gentlemen of high rank by whom he had been hospitably entertained; and on his representing that ten would be absolutely necessary to manage the dogs, Don Luis was induced to allow names to that number, selected by the commissioner, to be inserted in the passport, which he signed; and the commissioner, after expressing his sense of the honourable and kind treatment he had received, took his leave. He was now extremely anxious to set out on his return; but he found the people as expert at *maniana* here as in Trinidad, and was doomed to master his impatience at a bull-fight, prepared to entertain and delay him, while the members of the Consulat, or Council of Agriculture, Commerce, and Navigation, were engaged in framing a proposal to be made to the Government of Jamaica, for erecting light-houses, at the joint expence of the two islands, in order to render the navigation of the coast of Cuba and gulf of Mexico

Mexico ſafer*. The buſineſs, however, was ſoon finiſhed, the Commiſſioner left the Havanna, and, arriving at Beſucal, received a gratifying welcome from the generous Marquiſa.

The articles of agreement being executed by all parties, that is to ſay, by the commiſſioner and thirty chaſſeurs, and the advance money being paid on the part of the iſland of Jamaica, the commiſſioner became impatient of the leaſt delay, and urged the chaſſeurs to make the beſt of their way to the rendezvous appointed, which was at a ſmall iſland in the moraſs to the eaſt of the town of Batabano, near the port. They were not quite ſo eager; and inſtead of haſtening away, they petitioned the Marquiſa to allow them to have a little play, by which they meant gambling. This the Marquiſa peremptorily refuſed, telling them, at the ſame time,

* Votes of the Houſe of Aſſembly of Jamaica, 1796. See Appendix, No. 2.

that

that it was incumbent upon them to leave the advance they had received with their wives and families; and inſtead of gambling, they were directed to have a dance. The Marquiſa herſelf condeſcended not only to be preſent, but to dance a minuet in order to open the ball; for it ſeems, whenever it is known that ſhe is to be preſent on any of theſe occaſions, nothing is done till ſhe arrives, and till ſhe honours the aſſembly, whether compoſed of high or low, with walking a minuet; ſhe then, having made the party happy, takes her ſeat as a ſpectatreſs. The commiſſioner and Captain Gilpin were ſuddenly apprized of their being expected to accompany the Marquiſa and her couſin to the ball-room; which they did, eſcorted by a great number of men walking with lanterns in a row on each ſide. On arriving, they found the room full of company, with the chaſſeurs among them. It was hinted to the commiſſioner, that he was expected to walk the minuet with the Marquiſa. Dreſſed

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à la militaire, in boots, and for ſome time paſt not much addicted to dancing, he would gladly have been ſpared the exhibition; however, a ſoldier's uniform was excuſable, and good humour and addreſs ſupplied the place of geſtic lore. He went through a minuet both with the Marquiſa and her couſin, as his companion was not to be prevailed upon to ſport his toe. They then took their ſeats by the Marquiſa, and the reſt of the company ſtood up to the Spaniſh dances, the men with their ſwords on. Some of the chaſſeurs being among the dancers, the commiſſioner was laviſh in their praiſe, not forgetting to accompany his flattery ſeaſonably with the requeſt of their ſetting out early next morning for the place of rendezvous. They promiſed they would, and faithfully kept their promiſe. While the commiſſioner was at breakfaſt with the Marquiſa, Pedraſſo, the guide, came to inform him that they were all off with their dogs, accompanied by ſome more chaſſeurs, whom he had

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persuaded to join the others, although they had not signed the articles, or received the advance. The party of ten chasseurs del Rey, with a cabo or leader, belonging to the body under the Alcade Provinciale, and actually in the King's pay, being the very men who had taken the assassins that had stranded the English ship, had privately made their way across the mountains from the Havanna, proceeding to the place of rendezvous by different routes, to prevent the suspicion that might arise from a large party marching together.

Having succeeded thus far, the commissioner took leave of the good Marquisa and her family, then went and bade farewell to some of the priests who had greatly befriended him: to these he promised to send game-fowls and porter, the most acceptable presents that could be made to them; and his promise was afterwards faithfully fulfilled. Making now the utmost dispatch towards Batabano, he met,

within four miles of the town, the captain of the company ſtationed there. The intelligence he gave was by no means agreeable to the commiſſioner. It appeared that he had been relieved the day before by an officer with a detachment of the regiment *del Pueblo*, or Mexican. He ſaid he regretted that he was not on the ſpot to render the ſervices he had been inſtructed by his colonel to afford, but at the ſame time aſſured the commiſſioner, that no difficulty was to be apprehended, the lieutenant who ſucceeded him in the command being well acquainted with his inſtructions, to every tittle of which he would ſtrictly conform, and that he had himſelf remained a whole day beyond his time at the poſt, for the purpoſe of impreſſing on his ſucceſſor's mind the directions he had received from his colonel, who, the Governor excepted, was the man of the greateſt conſideration in the iſland. "The ſoldiers," continued he, "are a parcel of miſerable Watchinangoes, or Mexicans, and the lieutenant is

a poor ignorant fellow, who may be eaſily managed. Knowing by whom the buſineſs is ſanctioned, he will think himſelf happy in promoting a ſervice that will gain him credit with the colonel." This parting ſpeech of the captain's raiſed a hope in the breaſt of the commiſſioner, that the exchange might not be ſo prejudicial to his views as he at firſt apprehended, but the poor ſubaltern, who had been raiſed from the rank of a ſergeant, was not altogether the ſubject the captain had promiſed, and it is not unlikely that his predeceſſor was rejoiced at being relieved ſo critically from a poſt where he had a tickliſh game to play.

When the commiſſioner was about to leave Beſucal, Monſieur L'Epée, the French officer on parole there, made him an offer of accompanying him to Batabano, which he thought it adviſeable to accept. From the Marquiſa's indulgence, he thought no notice would be taken of his going twenty miles

miles beyond his limits, to a place where it was probable he would not be recognized, and whence he could return to his quarters in a few hours. Two other confiderations had great weight with the commiffioner; L'Epée fpoke very good Spanifh, and he might be bribed to do any thing. It is alfo to be obferved, that peace had been concluded between the two nations, and although the Governor delayed the liberation of about eight hundred clamorous Jacobins confined in the Cavanna, till he could deliver them over to a French commiffary, the cafe of the officer was different: he was a peaceable man profeffing to be a royalift, whereas the prifoners at the Havanna were dreaded, and had they been turned loofe, every mifchief might have been expected from them.

On the commiffioner's arrival at Batabano, he was treated with the greateft refpect and attention by the lieutenant, to whom he fhowed the paffport, defiring,

at the ſame time, that he would ſend an order for permitting the veſſel to paſs the port. Meanwhile, leaving Monſieur L'Epée at Batabano, to ſend him intelligence of whatever paſſed there, he proceeded with Captain Gilpin to the place of rendezvous in the moraſs, reflecting with pleaſure on having ſo completely tranſacted the buſineſs he had undertaken, and on the proſpect of ſailing the next day for Jamaica. Arrived on the coaſt, Captain Gilpin went on board the ſchooner to prepare for the reception of the men and dogs, and the commiſſioner returned to his recruits at the rendezvous. He now unhappily found that his greateſt difficulties were yet to be conquered. In the paſſport obtained from Don Luis de las Caſas, the commiſſioner had inſerted the names only of ſix of the Chaſſeurs del Rey, filling up the number to ten with the names of Pedraſſo his guide and three other confidential Spaniards. Notice had been given of this circumſtance to the Chaſſeurs del Rey

whofe names were on the lift, and who pointed it out to thofe that were not included. The latter upon this refufed to embark, giving as a reafon that they ran a rifk of being hanged on their return to Cuba for proceeding without a paffport; and the former refufed, on the pretence of being by themfelves too few in number to attempt the enterprife, as it was likely that they would be all killed were they to encounter fo unequal a force as that with which they underftood they were to contend. Every argument was ufed to convince the whole body that they ran no danger in embarking, and every perfuafion preffed to induce them to proceed in the enterprife in which they had engaged, but in vain: nothing could move them; and the commiffioner was at length under the neceffity of returning to Batabano.

Conceiving that the lieutenant who had the command was fully acquainted with

the buſineſs, and that his inſtructions had prepared him to wink at it, the commiſſioner had at firſt thought it beſt to proceed without troubling him about the matter: but in the dilemma that aroſe, no means preſented themſelves of obtaining his object, but that of applying to the officer to compel the chaſſeurs to embark. Gueſs then how great was his ſurprize, and what were his feelings, when, arriving at Batabano, he was informed by Monſieur L'Epée, that the whole difficulty had ariſen from the lieutenant himſelf, who, having been more inquiſitive and tenacious than was expected, had diſcovered that above forty chaſſeurs were engaged to embark, although the paſſport he had ſeen mentioned only ten; and had ſent notice to the men at the place of rendezvous, of which he had by ſome means been informed, that all who attempted to go, except thoſe mentioned in the paſſport, would certainly be hanged; at the ſame time informing them, that as it might be the

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Governor's intention to permit more than ten to embark, he had expreſsly diſpatched a dragoon to the Havanna to inquire his pleaſure. A total failure of the commiſſioner's ſchemes ſeemed now inevitable; added to which, he was in no little danger of being taken up and ſent to the priſon of the Cavanna, if not for life, at leaſt till the pleaſure of the King of Spain could be known. In this trying ſituation his mind became irritated, and his reſentment fell upon the poor officer, who, though the immediate cauſe of his diſappointment, was actuated by a ſenſe of duty. The more the commiſſioner's anger increaſed, the more mild and ſubmiſſive appeared the poor lieutenant: he declared that he had not the ſlighteſt intention of offending the commiſſioner, or of impeding his plan, which he ſaid he had no doubt was approved by the Governor, from whom he ſhould very ſoon receive an order to permit him to ſail with the chaſſeurs; but that as for himſelf, his hands were bound by

the ſtrictneſs of military duty, from which he could not in honour deviate; and if he did, he ſhould probably not only loſe his commiſſion, his ſole ſupport, but be impriſoned for life. Arguments like theſe, aided with uncommon modeſty of behaviour, could not but have their full weight; and the commiſſioner, in the midſt of his diſtreſs, feeling for the officer's embarraſſment, and touched with compunction for the reſentment he had ſhown, forced two hundred dollars as a gift upon the worthy lieutenant, who, while he owned his neceſſities, ſcorned a bribe, and aſſured the commiſſioner that no preſent whatever could induce him to ſwerve from his duty. Invincible virtue wherever found, whether in the ſuperb domes of imperial cities, or on the ſwamps of a petty fiſhing-town in a remote corner of the earth, is the nobleſt object that can be completely preſented to the mind of man. The poor lieutenant, whoſe bravery had raiſed him from the lower ſtations of life to the rank of

a gentleman, evinced a virtue that elevated him on the great ſcale of being; and the commiſſioner, however diſappointed in his project, could not but eſtimate his value far above the moſt precious metals. But while he admired the virtue of the man, it muſt be owned it was with torture hardly to be endured. He had riſen from a ſick bed, haſtened acroſs the ſea, encountered fatigue, overcome the difficulties he expected to meet, and was reaping the fruits of his activity in the foretaſte of eſſentially ſerving the iſland of Jamaica, when an obſtacle, for which he was unprepared, not only checked the enjoyment of his reflexions, but threatened immediate ruin to his ſcheme and to himſelf. It is true he had recruited more men than the Governor had allowed, for they were abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſs of his voyage; but he came to Batabano, confident that the way had, by the firſt influence in the country, been ſmoothed for him with the additional number of Beſucal chaſſeurs;

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and, had not the officer at the port been relieved, nothing could have prevented his departure. What now was his profpect? A dragoon had been difpatched to the Havanna, by whom the Governor would learn that, inftead of ten he had carried upwards of forty chaffeurs to the port to be embarked; Don Luis's refentment would neceffarily be the confequence of this information, and however the goodnefs natural to him, and his confideration for the melancholy ftate of the ifland of Jamaica, might incline him to act leniently on the occafion, it was not to be fuppofed that he would overlook a tranfaction officially and publicly made known to him, when no perfuafion could induce him to confent to it while the knowledge of it was confined to a few perfons. An order, therefore, to ftop the chaffeurs and fecure the commiffioner was the leaft to be expected. The happy images of intimidating the Maroons to a furrender, or of driving them from their faftneffes, all vanifhed,

and made way for others of a gloomy nature; on the one hand, the Britiſh troops haraſſed by the ſucceſsful ambuſhes of their enemy, the country deſolated, long kept in ſuſpenſe and alarm, and perhaps finally ruined, like St. Domingo, on the other; himſelf thrown into the priſon of the Cavanna, waiting the reſult of diſpatches ſent acroſs the Atlantic.

Although the hope of averting the miſfortune could be but ſmall, the commiſſioner reſolved to leave nothing untried that gave him the ſlighteſt chance of retrieving his plan. If the lieutenant was not to be bribed, equal firmneſs might not inhabit the breaſt of the dragoon whom he had charged with his expreſs for the Governor; and the commiſſioner, without loſing a moment, diſpatched Pedraſſo after him with money. With the guide he ſent one of the chaſſeurs del Rey, having firſt given him a very ample compenſation. Their inſtructions were to make the

the utmoſt ſpeed and overtake the dragoon, to whom they were to offer the bribe; if he happened to refuſe it, they were to kill his horſe, and engage ſome of the Beſucal people to ſecure his perſon privately; at all events, to prevent his reaching the Havanna with the lieutenant's diſpatches. Pedraſſo was to proceed thither with a letter to Mr. Alwood, in which the commiſſioner informed him of the change of the officer at Batabano and of his own dilemma, requeſting him to obtain from the Governor, if poſſible, a general order to the lieutenant to let the chaſſeurs paſs, without ſpecifying any number. The chaſſeur del Rey was to conceal himſelf on the road till Pedraſſo came back for him, and on his return to his companions was to produce a liſt of the ten chaſſeurs, written in a Spaniſh hand, with which he was furniſhed by Monſieur L'Epée, and to ſay that the Alcade Provinciale had ordered him to return immediately with poſitive injunctions to the chaſſeurs to

embark

embark without delay. Pedraſſo was to aſſert that the Governor had given permiſſion for as many to go on board as the commiſſioner choſe to take with him; and that the Marquiſa de Filippe et St. Jago had directed him to order her people to obey the commiſſioner. This project of a forlorn hope was immediately put into execution: the dragoon was overtaken, received his bribe, and relinquiſhed his horſe. So far fortunate, Pedraſſo lodged his companion on the way, and proceeded alone to the Havanna. The guide was almoſt the only man among the chaſſeurs perſonally known to Don Luis de las Caſas, who recognized him as he was paſſing in the town; and concluding that he had deſerted the commiſſioner after receiving his money, ordered him to be carried to priſon. Luckily, Pedraſſo had twelve dollars remaining in his pocket, with which he prevailed on a ſoldier to go to Mr. Alwood, and inform him of his ſituation. Mr. Alwood immediately ſpoke to

the Marquis del Real Secorro, who applied to the Governor for Pedraſſo's releaſe, aſſuring him that the ſchooner had not failed, and that Mr. Alwood meant to write on buſineſs by him to the commiſſioner. He was on this releaſed after a very few hour's confinement; and having received a letter from that gentleman, ſet out on his return to Batabano. Mr. Alwood, ſenſible that an application to the Governor as to an increaſe of the number of chaſſeurs would be fruitleſs, probably judged that the mention of any dilemma would be alſo impolitic, and that it would be beſt for the commiſſioner to extricate himſelf, if poſſible, without the circumſtance being made known to the Government. No order therefore was obtained, but the moſt was made of Pedraſſo's confinement. He declared that he had experienced the diſpleaſure of the Governor, who, at firſt ſuſpecting him of deſertion, had ordered him to priſon; but, on being informed that he had been ſent on buſineſs by the commiſſioner, releaſed

him,

him, and desired him to return and order all the chasseurs to embark immediately. The circumstance was literally true, and the assertion of it by Pedrasso was corroborated in an extraordinary manner. It happened that the collector of the port of Batabano was leaving the Havanna, where, as he passed, seeing Pedrasso at the prison gate obtaining his release, he inquired and heard the story of his desertion and confinement publicly talked of. Soon after Pedrasso's arrival, the chasseur del Rey, who took care not to come exactly at the same time, appeared with the list of the names of all his party, and asserted that the Alcalde Provinciale, who was coming over, declared, that if he found any of them left behind, he would have them imprisoned, and punished for disobedience of orders.

The poor lieutenant now began to apprehend that he had not only offended the commissioner, but had incurred the Governor's displeasure, and he even con-

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ſidered the detention of the dragoon, who he ſuppoſed had reached the Havanna, and ſhould have been back full eight-and-forty hours before, as a mark of diſapprobation. He was not, however, ſo thoroughly convinced of this as to comply with the commiſſioner's deſire of immediately embarking, but entreated him to extend his patience a little more, it being improbable, he ſaid, that the dragoon ſhould be much longer detained. Anxious to extenuate his apparent rigour of conduct, he aſſured the commiſſioner, whom he entitled *Grande Colonel*, that he had the higheſt reſpect for him, and that, had it not been for the deference he felt, he ſhould certainly have ſent the French officer, whom he knew to be reſtricted to Beſucal on parole, to the fort of the Cavanna in irons. Conſcious of not meaning ill, he beſought the commiſſioner, if offence ſhould be taken at his conduct, to write in his favour to the Governor. This being promiſed, his heart grew lighter, and he did

did every thing he could to ſoften the diſtreſs into which he had thrown his gueſt, which of neceſſity the commiſſioner had now become. Sometimes, the latter, a little angry at being detained ſo much longer than was neceſſary for the return of the dragoon, and knowing too that he would never return, was upon the point of venting his ſpleen, when the humble viſage of the unhappy lieutenant, cloathing itſelf with a ſmile of deprecation, over a ſtew-pan in which he was preparing a ſavoury diſh on a charcoal fire near the table, completely diſarmed him: the heart that could not have felt for the poor fellow muſt have been callous. Humble and attentive as he was, however, he ſuffered not the ſlighteſt abatement in the vigilance of the guard over the commiſſioner, who for four days had the eyes of twelve Mexican ſoldiers upon him, beſides a corporal and four dragoons, who were his conſtant attendants. Through the day he was generally at the lieutenant's quarters, adjoining the guard-

houſe: the place allotted for his lodging at night, was an unoccupied building, of a ſingle room, belonging to the Collector of the Port, but at ſome diſtance from his houſe. There, on two very hard cow-hides ſtretched over frames, and covered with mats, he and the French officer repoſed themſelves, though, as it may well be imagined, the commiſſioner at this vexatious juncture did not much enjoy the benefit of ſleep. Nothing could prevail upon the lieutenant to relax the rigour of his duty, but his mind at the ſame time was engaged in ſhowing every civility and reſpect, ſuch as he might have thought it incumbent upon him to pay to a ſtate priſoner of high rank. On the 4th day of this kind of impriſonment, that is, on the day of the return of Pedraſſo and the chaſſeur del Rey, the lieutenant, anxious to induce the commiſſioner to wait with patience the arrival of the Governor's favourable anſwer, now hourly expected by the dragoon, ordered a puppet-ſhow

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to be got up for his amuſement. Spaniſh ſoldiers are capital hands at a puppet-ſhow. The commiſſioner obſerved them very buſy all the day: nor had he himſelf been leſs occupied, for from the moment of Pedraſſo's return, he had ſet every engine to work in order to effect his eſcape. The chaſſeurs had all ſubmitted on the report of Pedraſſo and the chaſſeur who brought the liſt, and had agreed to embark upon an order from the commiſſioner: the only point then was, to evade the vigilance of the lieutenant and his guard. The plan of eſcape was concerted with Pedraſſo, who was furniſhed with money to play his part properly. He undertook to prevent the return of the fort guard after the puppet-ſhow, by lending them a few dollars to engage them in gambling; to bribe the dragoon ſerjeant with a hundred dollars, not only to wink at their eſcape, but to aſſiſt in it; and when every thing was ready for departure, he was, as ſoon as the moon went down, to have a horſe

waiting at a convenient diſtance for the commiſſioner, and to give him notice by tapping at his window. Matters were conducted accordingly: the ſerjeant proved himſelf worthy of his wages, no man could have performed his part better, either as director of the ſhow, or promoter of the eſcape; and as for the guard, Pedraſſo was fully confident that the ſhow, and the money he had ſcattered among them, would keep them at the town till the next day. The hour of meeting being come, the commiſſioner, his guard attending, was honoured with the company of the collector's daughters, two gigantic damſels, between whom he walked with ſtudied gallantry, affecting at the ſame time to limp, as if he were ſenſible of an approaching fit of the gout. The entertainment was the uſual trumpery of puppet-ſhows, but an incident introduced in the laſt ſcene as a compliment to the commiſſioner, gave a moſt ludicrous turn to the concluſion. A puppet, repreſenting a naked negro, was brought for-

ward

ward in the act of running; after him came the figures of dogs, accompanied with a loud barking, and then a figure representing the *Grande Colonel* himself, with a drawn sword and a high cocked hat, ornamented with long feathers, as like the commissioner's as it could be made: he was ushered in with a general shout of *a Maroono, a Maroono.* The puppet being worked too rapidly backwards and forwards, in the vehemence of action some of the gentleman's tackling gave way, and he was thrown about in a crippled state, which corresponding with the lameness affected by the commissioner all that day, occasioned a general uproar of laughter and shouting, which put an end to the piece, when many apologies were made by the performers, who protested that they meant no offence to the British colonel, nor any jest on his being *cobo*, or lame, but that the wires of his representative were accidentally broken by too violent an exertion to display his bravery. It was generally

underſtood on the return of Pedraſſo and the chaſſeur del Rey, that the buſineſs had been fully ſettled for his departure with the approbation of the Governor, and the Spaniards were all eager in their offers of accompanying him to reduce the Maroons. The commiſſioner now returned, guarded as before, to ſup with the lieutenant, and having been at no expence for the puppet-ſhow, requeſted permiſſion to give the ſoldiers a trifle to drink: this was not objected to, and he took care to give the Mexicans enough to enſure their intoxication. When he was ſuppoſed to be giving them rials, he ſlipped two dollars into the hands of each, and then ſat down to ſupper. Completely to blind the lieutenant, the commiſſioner in the morning had ſent a part of his baggage to his quarters, to remain there with ſome ſmall caſks, ſuppoſed deſigned for porter as preſents to ſeveral perſons, which ſeemed to be a convincing proof of his intention to wait the reſult of the expected anſwer

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from the Havanna, and was a kind of pledge to the officer for the ſecurity of his perſon. But to leave a full impreſſion, not only of his being reconciled to ſtay, but of his inability to go, on retiring from ſupper to his apartment, he appeared to ſuffer torture from the gout. No doubt now remained with the lieutenant that he ſhould have the pleaſure of the commiſſioner's company till the return of his expreſs dragoon from the Havanna, and L'Epée was left to ply him with frequent draughts of porter, of which the Spaniſh creoles are very fond. The Frenchman, however, puſhed his importunities to ſuch exceſs, that the wrath of the Mexican was rouſed, and ſome angry words paſſing, the former quitted the field, and joined the commiſſioner, whom he informed that the lieutenant was going to bed, but not ſo drunk as he could have wiſhed. He was, however, too far advanced himſelf to determine the point preciſely. It was about eleven o'clock when Monſieur L'Epée came to the cham-

ber, and the commiſſioner, recollecting that he had left his piſtols at the lieutenants quarters, diſpatched him to bring them away if poſſible unperceived. This he very dexterouſly effected, by going without any ceremony into his room after he was in bed, under pretence of looking for ſome articles wanted for the night, which the commiſſioner had left there among other things. The piſtols being immediately loaded, each threw himſelf on his matraſs with his cloaths on, and the lights were extinguiſhed. About twelve o'clock the commiſſioner, hearing the trampling of a horſe, gently unbolted his door, and ſuppoſing it to be the guide, aſked in a low tone of voice if it was Pedraſſo; but the man paſſing into the ſtreet near the door, which opened on the ſide of the room into an alley, the commiſſioner found that it was the dragoon ſerjeant. He was at firſt ſtartled, but on being ſaluted with a *bueno noche ſignor*, in a mild, intelligent tone, he felt aſſured that the hundred dollars

lars had not been thrown away, and that all was ſafe in that quarter. Every thing was now quiet, and the commiſſioner counted the minutes as he anxiouſly waited the ſignal to be given by the guide, who about two o'clock tapped gently at the window, and deſired him to croſs the ſtreet cautiouſly, that he might run no riſk of being obſerved, informing him that he would find him with horſes about a hundred yards off in a direct line.

Amidſt his preparation for eſcaping, the commiſſioner had not been forgetful of the poor lieutenant, whom he reſpected and pitied. He wrote letters to his friends at the Havanna, ſtating the circumſtances, and fully exculpating him. He alſo requeſted Mr. Alwood to make every intereſt in his behalf, and to give him a hundred pounds, ſhould he meet any diſtreſs upon this occaſion. To the French officer he gave a hundred and twenty dollars, and thanked him warmly for his ſervices,

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the laſt of which he was now to perform, by engaging the attention of the guard at the guardhouſe oppoſite the lieutenant's door, a little higher up the ſtreet which the commiſſioner was to croſs. The moon was juſt gone down; no light was to be ſeen but the guard's; and now ſhaking hands with Monſieur L'Epée, the commiſſioner, at parting, made him a preſent of his trunks, ſaddles, barrels, and other things depoſited at the lieutenant's quarters, not doubting that his fertile genius would enable him to decamp before day-dawn with all but the empty barrels to Beſucal. L'Epée was ſoon at the guardhouſe, where he began talking loudly with the ſoldiers, who came about him with great vociferation and clamour, the effect of ſome dollars' worth of agua-dente, or rum. The commiſſioner, creeping on his hands and knees acroſs the ſtreet, heard him deſire them to make leſs noiſe, that they might not wake the colonel, who was ill. This was the laſt he heard of Monſieur L'Epée; and having got ſafe

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beyond ſight of the guardhouſe, he ſoon came up with Pedraſſo and the horſes, with a couple of Spaniards, whom the guide had bribed. He mounted without a moment's delay, benumbed by the chilly damps of the moraſs, in a night uncommonly cold for the latitude he was in; his piſtols ſecured in a belt, his ſword by his ſide, having neither gloves nor great coat, which were left with his other things at the lieutenant's. In this ſtate he rode forward, but had not proceeded many yards when his horſe was tripped up by ſome ropes that had been careleſsly left acroſs the path of a rope-walk. Every impediment was now of moment, and the fall he received was very ſevere; but the horſe being ſecured, he again mounted, and rode to the edge of the moraſs, where he alighted to avoid a ſmall houſe in the cauſeway which ſerved occaſionally as a ſtation for ſome of the guard, and waded through a ſhort angle of the moraſs, he then proceeded with Pedraſſo along the cauſe-

way

way to the beach, where he had the satisfaction of finding most of the chasseurs ready and anxious to embark, and was told that the rest were coming up from the little island where they had rendezvoused. He was very soon joined by these, and nothing now remained but to get the dogs on board, and embark as quietly as possible. This was no light task, but fortunately the English sailors had secured all the boats in the harbour, not excepting those of the guarda costas, the officers belonging to which were dancing fandangoes in the country. Having dismounted the only two guns that could bear on the schooner, and the fort-guard being all happily engaged in gaming at the town, the commissioner proceeded to embark his people. The trouble attending the embarkation was inconceivable, and the loud incessant barking of more than a hundred large dogs, was enough to give an alarm that might have reached the town. The shallowness of the water prevented the boats from coming within

within two hundred yards of the beach, and of courſe the dogs were to be carried in the arms of the men, which was a work of great labour. The dogs had heavy chains on, and being unaccuſtomed to the ſailors, ſtruggled, ſcratched, and made a terrible noiſe. The howling and barking were tremendous along the ſhore, and the figures of the men carrying the dogs, ſeen through the dark ſhade of night, would have afforded an excellent ſubject to a painter of genius. The people had many turns to make before all the dogs were placed on board, and conſequently a conſiderable time was conſumed in the embarkation; however, by ſun-riſe, forty chaſſeurs, with a hundred and four dogs, were ſhipped. Of the dogs, thirty-ſix only were thoroughly trained, the others were the beſt that could be procured, and would have anſwered the purpoſe, if the Maroons had compelled the uſe of them. All hands being on board, the ſchooner was immediately got under way, and the dogs

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ſecured, to give as little trouble as poſſible; yet many a curſe did they get from the ſailors, whom they clawed, and contrived to nip with their teeth, though muzzled.

Nothing was now talked of but a ſpeedy paſſage to Jamaica, and the rewards expected. The commiſſioner's mind was relieved of a load of anxiety; mirth and good humour prevailed among the people, and the veſſel was ſtanding to ſea under a croud of ſail, when they ſuddenly ſaw two guarda coſtas coming out of port after them. This appearance, however, gave them no alarm: the complement of the ſchooner now amounted to ninety-ſix men; nor would the Spaniſh veſſels have dared to attack her, had they even come up with her, which they were probably as little inclined as able to do. Towards the evening they tacked and returned to port. The coaſt was now clear, and every danger of diſappointment ſeemed completely removed, when, as the night was advancing, the pilots,

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terrified by the guarda coſtas, or miſtaking the channel, ran the ſchooner aground at a conſiderable diſtance from any of the keys or iſlands. All attempt to get her off was fruitleſs, and at twelve o'clock a violent North* ſetting in, ſhe began to thump with ſuch violence, that the rudder was driven up by every ſtroke ſo as to be almoſt unſhipped; and had not the veſſel been new and ſtrong, ſhe muſt have gone to pieces. Never could a night have been paſſed in greater horror. Surrounded by reefs and breakers, the gale increaſing to a ſtorm, and the depth of water diminiſhed by the power of the wind, there was but little hope of ſaving either the veſſel or the crew. The Engliſh ſailors, perſuaded that a wreck was inevitable, hoiſted out the boat to ſecure it for themſelves; and getting all in, kept under the lee of the

* In the months of November and December, the wind frequently blows from the North for a ſhort time, and generally accompanied with rain. These occaſional winds are called Norths.

ſchooner. In the confuſion that prevailed, many of the dogs got looſe, and ſeized upon the cattle which had been put on board to ſuſtain them through the voyage. The bellowing of theſe poor animals, the howling of the dogs, the blowing of the wind, the roaring of the ſea, the audible and agitated praying of the Spaniards, and the darkneſs of the night, conſpired to render the ſituation tremendous. Captain Gilpin requeſted the commiſſioner to take to the boat with the ſeamen, who would admit both of them: but a ſmall boat, crouded with twenty men, not having room to uſe their oars, could have no chance of being ſaved. Had the ſailors put off from the veſſel, they would inevitably have driven upon a reef of rocks a mile to leeward, where they muſt have periſhed. When Britiſh ſeamen deſpair, the danger muſt be great indeed: not one of the crew expected to live till the morning, and the commiſſioner ſaw nothing to induce him to embrace the propoſal of joining thoſe in the boat. Next morn-

morning the violence of the North had ſo leſſened the depth of water in the channel that the ſchooner, which drew ten feet four inches, was now in ſeven feet ſix, ſhe conſequently no longer thumped the ſands, but lay over upon her larboard ſide very much. In this ſituation ſhe remained the reſt of the day, and all night. The ſucceeding day the North abated, the channels began to fill again, and hope once more revived; but another night was paſſed in the poſition of the preceding. On the third day, a conſiderable quantity of the ballaſt was thrown overboard, anchors were carried out, and at length, by warping, the ſchooner was got afloat. Joy being reſtored, the pilots were aſſured that they ſhould be hanged if the veſſel again ran aground; but they ſoon found a proper channel, and cleared the intricacies of the Jardines. The ſchooner, previous to her clearing the keys, being obliged to come to an anchor under Cayo Blanco, a ſmall trading veſſel made up to her

her, to beg ſome water; and the people being told that there was a ſpring on the key at a little diſtance, ſaid they had attempted to ſupply themſelves there, but had been prevented by a crocodillo. The commiſſioner, wiſhing to get one of theſe animals, ſent ſix of the Spaniards with their muſchets and a ſtrong hog-lance to kill and bring it aboard. Some time after they ſet out, Pedraſſo being informed of it, foretold that they would return unſucceſsful; which proved to be the caſe: the men came back with their muſchets hacked, and the lance bent at the point. Pedraſſo laughed at the mountaineers, whom he inſtructed in the mode of taking a crocodillo. This was, on the creature's approach, to offer him a hat, which he would ſeize and tug: the aſſailant was then to raiſe the head with the hat, which gave him an opportunity to pierce with his weapon the penetrable part of the crocodillo, between the throat and the breaſt, in a direction to the heart; for as to his head,

head, back, and ſides, they were able to reſiſt the force of a muſket ball. Pedraſſo offered to go and take one in the morning; but the light enabling the ſchooner to proceed, the commiſſioner's mind was too intent on the iſſue of his voyage to permit the delay of a moment. The crocodillo differs conſiderably from the cayman, or common alligator. The former is never known to exceed ſeven or eight feet, is lighter made, and will attack man or beaſt. The latter grows to ſixteen and ſeventeen feet, is heavy, timid, and flies from man, though he will ſometimes ſeize on dogs, ſheep, and other feeble animals. The Spaniards ſay that no crocodillos are to be found in places frequented by alligators: theſe abound on the ſouth keys, which are muddy, and on the muddy moraſſes of the main iſland, where they live on crabs and fiſh of all ſizes, left in abundance on the mud by the tide: on the contrary, the crocodillos are ſeen on the drier ſandy keys of the Jardines and the

oppoſite coaſt, and particularly in the iſle of Pines, where they are often found in the lower plains, at ſome diſtance from the water.

The ſchooner being now under way, quite clear of the Jardines, the commiſſioner's hopes of ſucceſs were raiſed to the higheſt pitch, and every flattering image was renewed in his mind. But he was doomed to ſuffer freſh vexation from the unyielding piety of the Spaniards. They all declared, that it was incumbent upon them to expreſs their gratitude to St. Anthony for being ſaved from ſhipwreck, and to receive abſolution from their prieſts before they proceeded; for which double purpoſe they inſiſted on putting into the port of Trinidad. Nothing could prevail upon them to forego this reſolution: they declared that they would leave their dogs on board, and return after ſatisfying their conſciences. The commiſſioner determined, if poſſible, not to

truſt

truſt them; but they were poſitive, and being all armed with long ſabres, were ſufficiently powerful to effect their purpoſe. Though no ſeamen, they knew which tack laid the veſſel off the coaſt, and would not ſuffer it: the land breeze however coming off, the ſailors edged away from the ſhore as much as poſſible. Fortunately in the morning a heavy North again ſet in, that rendered the making Trinidad impracticable, and there was ſome chance of falling in with a Britiſh cruizer, whoſe aſſiſtance would have completely ſupported the commiſſioner's determination of not putting in with the Spaniards; but the purpoſe was as fully anſwered by the North's increaſing, which forced the ſchooner off the coaſt of Cuba; ſhe was therefore of neceſſity put before the wind, and next morning fell in with the land near Falmouth in the pariſh of Trelawney, the ſight of which was rendered doubly joyous by the recollection of the many difficulties that had been

encountered and overcome. As ſhe ſtood in ſhore in the morning, the ſchooner ſaw a French privateer, which ſhe chaſed, and, being a much faſter ſailer, would have taken, had not the Frenchman, by tacking, gained to windward, the Mercury not holding ſo good a wind, owing to her having been obliged to throw ſo much of her ballaſt over board to get her off the ground in the paſſage of the Jardines. At length being now quite out of proviſions and water, ſhe bore up for Montego Bay, where the commiſſioner was to experience a new vexation before he landed. Entering the bay at duſk in the evening, the officer of the fort miſtook the Mercury for an enemy's privateer, and ſhe had to run the gantlet of the batteries, from which ſhe was welcomed back by ſeveral vollies of grape-ſhot. As fortune would have it, neither men nor dogs were hurt, and on the 14th of December, the ſchooner dropped anchor in a birth where ſhe lay covered by ſome Ame-

American veſſels between her and the batteries.

The commiſſioner had been abſent ſeven weeks, and, although he had completely ſucceeded in the immediate object of his expedition to Cuba, he was willing to flatter himſelf that a favourable progreſs had been made in the war, and that there would be no occaſion to have recourſe to the recruits he had brought with him; but his firſt enquiries produced an anſwer, which convinced him that their ſervices would be required. He received a melancholy account of the ſtate of affairs, and was informed that very little progreſs had been made in reducing the Maroons, that the troops had ſuffered great loſſes, that the militia were jaded, and the numbers on duty greatly leſſened. No time, therefore, was loſt in landing the chaſſeurs and their dogs: the wild and formidable appearance of both ſpread terror through the place; the ſtreets were cleared, the

doors of the houſes ſhut, and the windows crouded. Not a negro ventured to ſtir out. The muzzled dogs with the heavy rattling chains ferociouſly making at every object, and forcibly dragging on the chaſſeurs, who could hardly reſtrain them, preſented a ſcene of a tremendous nature, well calculated to give a moſt awful colouring to the report which would be conveyed to the Maroons.

The deſpondence that had prevailed now yielded to hope, renovated by the arrival of the commiſſioner, and joy was ſpread throughout the iſland. He was congratulated, and thanked by all who met him; his exertions were extolled in all companies; no praiſe was thought too high, nor could a reward be named adequate to his ſervices. If, indeed, we conſider the ſpirit of the enterpriſe; the indefatigable activity with which it was purſued, the difficulties overcome, and the diſpatch with which it was completed, we muſt allow that

that the gratitude of the inhabitants of Jamaica was not premature, for although the ultimate object of the Cuba expedition remained to be accomplished, the expedition itself had been conducted with uncommon energy and ability, and had been attended with complete succefs: and it is no wonder that the great proprietors, some of whom had declared themselves ready to lay down the half of their fortunes for the suppression of the dangerous rebellion raging in the heart of the country, should feel the obligation they were under to one who had risen from a bed of sickness, despised fatigue and danger, and restored to them the prospect of saving their property and the island from destruction.

LETTER XII.

State of the War in Jamaica.—March to Seven Rivers.—The Chaſſeurs reviewed by General Walpole.—Critical Period.—Colonel Hull marches in Search of Montague's Party.—Cato killed.—The Parties meet.—A Truce.—Treaty of Peace.—Unfortunate Rencontre with Colonel Stevenſon's Detachment.—Colonel Skinner advances from Poſt Auguſtus againſt Johnſon.—Is recalled.—Johnſon's intended Projects.—The Lieutenant-Governor arrives at Wemyſs-Caſtle.—Ratifies General Walpole's Treaty.—Diſtruſt and Apprehenſions of the Maroons.—Keep out beyond the Day appointed for their Surrender.—The Chaſſeurs diſſatisfied.—General Walpole's Opinion reſpecting them.—Bodies of Maroons ſurrender at different Times.—Palmer and Parkinſon, with ſome others, remove to a diſtant Part of the Country.—Fidelity of Johnſon and Smith.—They beg for a Party to go and bring in the Remainder of the Maroons.—Refuſed.—The Spaniards eager to act.—Nutricious Root found in the Woods.—Detachment ſent againſt Palmer and Parkinſon.—Dilemma of the Party.—Palmer and Parkinſon ſurrender.—Termination of the War.

PREVIOUS to the arrival of the Spaniſh chaſſeurs, General Walpole, well knowing that

that the talents of Johnſon rendered him the moſt formidable of the Maroon chiefs, and that his vigour and activity called for the ſtricteſt vigilance on his enterpriſe, thought it neceſſary to alarm him from time to time by feigned movements, though he could not ſpare a ſufficient number of troops to eſtabliſh ſtrong poſts on the Weſtmoreland quarter, the principal ſtation of his party. Theſe movements were made with an appearance of great ſecreſy, but with a deſign of Johnſon's being informed of them; for there was no doubt that he received intelligence by means of ſome of the negroes, the certainty of which was afterwards evinced by the ſpeedy information given to him of the arrival of the chaſſeurs. To countenance the feint, General Walpole gave orders for purchaſing proviſions for a grand depot on the Weſtmoreland ſide, while, in reality, he was executing a plan which he had ſuggeſted of carrying a road through the few ſprings in the cock-pits from the north ſide

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to the ſouth ſide of the iſland, and of puſhing down detachments of the troops to take poſt at the ſprings, which, from the difficulty of obtaining water, muſt have rendered the excurſions of the Maroons eaſtward almoſt impracticable. General Walpole had eſtabliſhed poſts on the 18th of November, at Hector's River, and Mouth River, covering the eaſtern part of the iſland with the Clarendon and Vere militia: but great fears were entertained in the Nauſſau mountains to the ſouth, which, from the want of force, could not be effectually guarded; and the weather having been dry, the burning the eſtates in that quarter was much dreaded. The action between Captain Drummond and Johnſon, mentioned at the concluſion of my eighth Letter, happened in conſequence of the feigned movements planned by General Walpole. It took place on the 13th of December, the day before the arrival of the chaſſeurs, and the Maroons after the action threatened to burn Belvidere, General

neral Reid's eſtate, in a few nights. In the mean time the commiſſioner had landed the chaſſeurs, and diſpatches were immediately ſent to General Walpole at the Old Town announcing their arrival. The news flew ſo rapidly through the country, that in leſs than two hours it reached General Reid, at his poſt on Great River, and he inſtantly wrote to the commiſſioner, requeſting him to bring the chaſſeurs to him as ſpeedily as poſſible; at the ſame time mentioning the action that had been fought with Captain Drummond, and that another attack was intended immediately, aſſuring him that he would be reſponſible to General Walpole for his not waiting his orders. On receiving this letter, the commiſſioner loſt no time in puſhing up the chaſſeurs towards Poſt Auguſtus, the appointed rendezvous, where troops were to be aſſembled for the attack propoſed. Two halts were made on the way, at which time cattle were killed for the uſe of the dogs and men. The manner of

ſlaying an ox, by which he was as ſoon diſpatched as by the ordinary mode, was to ſet ſome dogs on him, who pinned him down, and one of the chaſſeurs with his ſharp muſchet cut the throat of the animal. The dogs catching at the blood with open mouths, and puſhing one another's heads about, were half covered with it, and being powdered with duſt on their march, exhibited a ferocious appearance, well calculated to inſpire terror. The negroes on the different eſtates through which they paſſed, left their work and fled in every direction. The Maroons too were very ſoon informed of the approach of the chaſſeurs. Johnſon, after the action with Captain Drummond, had returned to his old poſition, or rather to one a mile to the eaſtward of it, where he conceived he ſhould engage with more advantage, and he was bold enough to ſay, that, covered by the woods, and independent of the cock-pits, he thought himſelf equal to any force that could be brought againſt him:

but no ſooner did he hear of the arrival of the chaſſeurs, than he quitted this poſition in order to join old Montague's party.

The ſecond halt of the chaſſeurs was made at a place called Seven Rivers, where they remained all night. Here, by an order from General Walpole, ſmall fuſils were given to the Spaniards, who were with difficulty perſuaded to take them, declaring that they would rather depend entirely on their ſwords and dogs; and though each took one, it ſeems they determined among themſelves to lodge them with the rear-guard before they went into action. They laughed on being told that the Maroons were good markſmen, and would fight under cover, retiring from hill to hill. They were fully apprized, they ſaid, of all the Maroons could do, and only wiſhed to get upon their track.

Anxious to review the chaſſeurs, General Walpole left head-quarters, the morning after they were landed, before day-break, and arrived in a poſt-chaiſe at Seven Rivers about ſeven o'clock, accompanied by Colonel Skinner, whom he appointed to conduct the intended attack. Notice of his coming having preceded him, a parade of the chaſſeurs was ordered. They were taken to a diſtance from the houſe, in order to be advanced when the General alighted. On his arrival, the commiſſioner having paid his reſpects to him, was deſired to parade them. The Spaniards appeared at the end of a gentle acclivity, drawn out in a line containing upwards of forty men, with their dogs in front, unmuzzled, and held by the cotton-ropes. According to directions previouſly given, on receiving the command to fire, they diſcharged their fuſils, and advanced as upon a real attack. This was intended to aſcertain what effect would be produced on the dogs if engaged under a fire of the Maroons. The volley

was

was no ſooner fired than the dogs preſſed forward with the greateſt fury, amidſt the continued ſhouts of the Spaniards, who were dragged on with irreſiſtible force. Some of the dogs, maddened by the ſhout of attack while held back by the ropes, ſeized on the ſtocks of the guns in the hands of their keepers, and tore pieces out of them. Their impetuoſity was ſo great, that they were with difficulty ſtopped before they reached the General, who found it neceſſary to go into the chaiſe from which he had alighted; and if the greateſt exertions had not been made to ſtop them, they would certainly have ſeized upon his horſes. He was much pleaſed with the review, and augured a happy effect from their appearance among the Maroons. The chaſſeurs hearing that they were to attend the troops in an attack that was to be made as ſoon as poſſible, expreſſed great anxiety to go out alone; but every ſolicitation on the ſubject was repreſſed, and they were directed to be ſtrictly attentive

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to the orders of Colonel Skinner, under whom they were going out.

The juncture appeared favourable to General Walpole for attempting to bring the Maroons to terms which it might not be injurious to the country, or derogatory to the dignity of the Government to grant. It is true no victory of importance had been obtained over them, but the militia under Colonel Stevenſon, and other detachments, had conſiderably checked their predatory incurſions on the proviſion grounds in Trelawney, and the General from his own ſtation had driven them into the remote cock-pits, where, from the ſetting in of the dry weather, the ſcarcity of water muſt have been already felt. Parties from Poſt Auguſtus and Mocha had, by conflicts with Johnſon, confined his depredations on that ſide of the mountains. The poſts eſtabliſhed at Mouth and Hector Rivers, with the Clarendon and Vere militia, under Colonel Robertſon and Major Shaw, had ſucceſſfully

fully oppoſed the Maroon inroads to the eaſt: and on the 15th Colonel Hull had maintained a gallant action with Montague's party, whom he had forced to retreat. There were conſiderations on the other hand, that had great weight in influencing the General to force the Maroons into an accommodation, ſo earneſtly preſſed for by the country in general. The feſtival of Chriſtmas was approaching, a period when, even in times of the greateſt tranquillity, it has always been thought proper to be particularly vigilant againſt the conſequences of the intemperance and exceſſes in which many of the negroes then indulge. The protraction of the war had aſtoniſhed the other bodies of Maroons and the ſlaves, and had fixed their attention on the events of it, which were ſometimes ſooner known among them at very diſtant parts, than at the capital; and it was reported that a very large body intended to join the Maroons. The dry weather was ſet in, the beginning of crop was at

hand, and the canes now ripe and dropping their dry blades, were become very combuſtible. A few rebellious negroes might eaſily effect a devaſtation which it might not be in the power of thouſands of attached and orderly ones to prevent or arreſt; for the violent parching winds prevailing in the dry ſeaſon, would carry a fire through whole diſtricts. Now then, General Walpole, inſtead of driving the Maroons to deſperation, conceived the wiſeſt ſtep he could take would be to ſeize the opportunity offered by the terror which was ſpread by the arrival of the chaſſeurs, to ſhow them that though their firſt ſucceſſes had determined him to continue the conflict till he ſubdued them by force of arms, he was willing, when joined by a force which from its nature could not fail of driving them from their receſſes, to adopt mild meaſures rather than proceed to a purſuit, the effects of which would be ſo terrible. He accordingly directed Colonel Hull, who had been ordered to advance

from

from the Old Town againſt Montague's party, to offer them terms; and he deſired Colonel Skinner, in going out againſt Johnſon, to keep the chaſſeurs in the rear.

On the 18th, Colonel Hull, with a part of the 62d regiment, detachments of the 17th light dragoons, and other regular corps, forming a very ſtrong force, went out after Montague's party, who had received a meſſage from Johnſon to advance and meet him nearer the Old Town. The party having made a movement in conſequence of the meſſage, Colonel Hull, after a march of about ſix miles, fell in with them much ſooner than he expected, at Pond River. A negro was immediately diſpatched to haſten the baggage up. Cato, a ſlave, was the perſon ſent. During the whole campaign he had been a moſt faithful guide. It was by his means the retreat of the rebels was diſcovered, and he had behaved in action with great bravery, but returning for the baggage, he was

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unfortunately killed by a Maroon in an ambush.

The Maroons were on the side of a steep hill, and the troops on an opposite acclivity, with a narrow glade between them. Colonel Hull's advanced guard coming upon them by surprise, began a fire, which was returned by the Maroons: but orders were immediately given to stop firing, the officers directing the men to cover themselves as well as they could by the trees. This being obeyed, the Maroons were called to, repeatedly, to desist firing, and told that the General wished to grant them peace. A straggling fire, however, being kept up by the body, seemed to enrage their captains, who finding the fire of the troops had entirely ceased, no longer concealed themselves, but were seen skipping among the rocks to silence their own. This being effected, they asked if General Walpole was there to talk to them, and were told he was not, but

but that he ſhould be ſent for, and that in the mean time Colonel Hull was authorized to grant them peace. A long converſation now took place, during which the Maroons appeared extremely diſtruſtful. At length Mr. Werge of the 17th light dragoons, with great preſence of mind and cool deliberate courage, threw down his arms and deſcended to the foot of the hill cloſe to them, calling upon them to meet him, telling them that as the war was ended, neither party ſhould be afraid to meet and ſhake hands upon it. On this, Fowler, the Maroon, advanced and took him by the hand, and at Mr. Werge's propoſal changed hats and jackets with him. Charles Schaw, who had the command of old Montague's party, then came down, and afterwards one or two more of the captains. Nothing more was effected at this time than a ceſſation of hoſtilities. The Maroons declared that they would not fire upon the troops if they did not advance, aſſuring Colonel Hull that they

on their ſide would not advance on him. The night, however, coming on, rendered the ſituation of both parties hazardous and painful. There was a ſmall ſpring of water in the glade between them, and it was agreed in order that no partial advantage might be gained by either ſide, that each ſhould advance two ſentries to guard it. In this poſition they lay under arms all night. However, about two o'clock in the morning, the want of water, which was ſeverely felt on both ſides, impelled the Maroons to call out to the troops, and propoſe that Colonel Hull ſhould withdraw his ſentries a little way till they ſupplied themſelves, after which they would withdraw theirs, that the troops might go and take water. The propoſal was readily conſented to, and both parties obtained a refreſhment they were extremely in want of.

An expreſs having been ſent to General Walpole, informing him of the truce that had

had taken place, the Maroons were told at day-dawn that he was on his way, and in the mean time they were invited to ſend ſome of their captains to meet an equal number of the officers at the ſpring; but the cautious captains choſe to reſerve their confidence till they ſaw the General, who with General Reid arrived early in the morning, and was met by old Montague and the captains, depending on the promiſe of the Commander in Chief for the ſecurity of their perſons. After ſome talk, the following propoſals were made by the Maroons, and granted by General Walpole.

1ſt. That they would on their knees beg his Majeſty's pardon.

2d. That they would go to the Old Town, Montego Bay, or any other place that might be pointed out, and would ſettle on whatever lands the Governor, Council, and Aſſembly might think proper to allot.

3*d*. That they would give up all run-aways*.

To theſe ſimple articles, entered into on the 21ſt of December 1795, and conſidered as a treaty, General Walpole was under the neceſſity of adding another, which was a ſecret one, promiſing that the Maroons ſhould not be ſent off the iſland, and he was obliged to accede on his oath †. Theſe preliminaries ſettled, the General allowed a certain time for them to bring in their women and children, who were concealed in a remote ſituation, where they had been living in a miſerable ſtate, the meazles having broke out among them, and where they were almoſt famiſhed from being unable to procure a ſufficient quantity of proviſions. Some of the men returned to head-quarters to repreſent this and the neceſſity of carrying in proviſions to their

* Votes of the Houſe of Aſſembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

† Ibid.

their families, repeating the most solemn assurances of their intention to come in with as much expedition as possible.

When the articles of the treaty were agreed to, General Walpole cautioned the Maroons respecting a party under Colonel Stevenson that had been sent out from another direction with the view of covering the grounds and co-operating with Colonel Hull, should an action take place. To prevent their being attacked, the General gave them a letter to Colonel Stevenson, informing him of the peace he had granted. On parting, a number of the Maroons, now joined by about thirty of their women, who were employed in carrying baggage and provisions, unfortunately took a route towards Colonel Stevenson's detachment, whose advance came by surprise on the women as they were ascending a hill. These fled in different directions, while the men called out to stop; but a firing being begun, the voices were disregarded,

as the Maroons were accuſtomed to call out in battle. Smith having fixed General Walpole's letter in a cleft ſtick, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have it noticed by preſenting it at different openings of the wood, retreating as Colonel Stevenſon advanced. Not ſucceeding, he at length took to his gun, and the battle became general. Captain Dunbar of the militia, and ſome others, were killed, ſeveral were wounded, and the affair ended like moſt of the actions in the woods: the Maroons fought themſelves off, and the militia, after exhauſting themſelves, retreated.

In the mean time Colonel Skinner, with a part of the 16th regiment, a detachment of the 83d, and the chaſſeurs, had quitted Poſt Auguſtus with the intention of attacking Johnſon on the ground he had taken after his action with Captain Drummond. Johnſon, who before braved all danger, had, on the 18th, in conſequence of his meſſage to old Montague, when he heard of the chaſſeurs approach, made a rapid move-

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ment of his principal force, leaving a ſmall party to proceed with the women and baggage to a ſecure place in the ſouthernmoſt cock-pits, while he proceeded to form his junction with Montague's party, which he was prevented from effecting by their falling in with Colonel Hull. But this was unknown to Colonel Skinner, who on the 19th went in purſuit of him, and having paſſed his old poſition, puſhed on with redoubled vigour, expecting every moment to overtake him. The chaſſeurs entreated to be allowed to advance, but this he ſtrictly forbade, keeping them conſtantly in the rear. The party were within two miles of the body left by Johnſon to convoy the women and baggage, though this was at the time unknown, and had the Spaniards been allowed to advance, not one of them could have eſcaped. About two o'clock an expreſs diſpatched by General Walpole before he left head-quarters, overtook Colonel Skinner, with an order to return, informing him that

the Maroons had ſhown a diſpoſition to treat for peace, which he hoped in a few hours to conclude with them. This was very unwelcome news to the chaſſeurs, who had buoyed themſelves up with the expectation of the great rewards which had been offered by the various proclamations: but ſome time after, on being ordered to head-quarters at the Old Town, they continued to entertain hopes of opportunities being afforded them to act.

The period in which General Walpole made the peace was a moſt critical one. Johnſon had moved to concentre the Maroon force for the purpoſe of adopting a dreadful alternative, had a negotiation been unſucceſsful. Ignorant of General Walpole's deſign of admitting them to terms, it was his own intention to have ſent in an offer: for he was now, for the firſt time ſince the burning of his ſettlement, anxiouſly ſolicitous for peace. It is a circumſtance hardly known, that he

meant, on the junction of the whole Maroon force, if he had found no opportunity of treating, or in negotiating had failed, to have crossed the island, and on the south of the cock-pits, through Cave River, to have made a descent on the estates in the mountains of Clarendon, where he expected to find a more favourable disposition in the negroes than to the northward and westward; for in these parts, besides the great military force to awe the slaves, the majority of them were actually the determined enemies of the Maroons: whereas in Clarendon, whence the Maroons originally came, a degree of family connexion was still acknowledged among them, and emissaries had been employed to ascertain their inclination. What that really was, never appeared; but it was natural for Johnson to depend upon finding many friends in that quarter. Had the peace not been made, and had he crossed the country, it is not unlikely that the fertile parish of Clarendon would have been laid

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in aſhes. The conſequences of transferring the ſeat of war may be eaſily imagined :— fatiguing marches, new quarters, new incampments, a new country to be ſtudied, new ſcenes of action, concluding with another removal; and after ſimilar conſequences, other removals, by which the war might have been carried round the iſland, and perpetuated for years. But theſe conſequences depended on the ſuppoſition, that Johnſon's deſign of croſſing the country could have been effected, of which there could be no doubt previous to the arrival of the chaſſeurs; but now his moſt dreaded foes, whoſe approach had raiſed the idea, were too near upon his ſkirts; and before he could have reached the place for the execution of his project, or attempted any enterpriſe, he would have been overtaken by the chaſſeurs, who, it may be ſuppoſed under ſuch circumſtances, would have been permitted to advance. Some perſons entertained doubts reſpecting the reſult of an action between the chaſſeurs and the Maroons.

roons. That their doubts were not resolved by experience, is not to be regretted. The greateſt reliance was placed upon the former, not only by the General and his principal officers, but by the Governor, and the country. Notwithſtanding this, General Walpole judged it prudent not to ſuffer them to act alone; nor would he hazard the moſt diſtant chance of removing the terror which had been inſpired by the very idea of their arrival. To maintain this terror, and expel that which aroſe in the breaſts of the Maroons from diſtruſt of the faith of thoſe with whom they were treating, was now General Walpole's chief endeavour: but he found it not ſo eaſy to ſucceed in the latter as in the former; and the reſolution of the Maroons wavered for ſome time between the two motives of dread.

As ſoon as the Lieutenant-Governor received an account of the pacification with the Maroons, he left Major-General

Donald Campbell to command the troops on the south side *, and setting out for the north side, proceeded as far as Wemyss-Castle, where, on the 28th of December, he ratified General Walpole's treaty; fixing the 1st of January 1796 for the surrender and submission of the Maroons †. Distrust and apprehension prevailing among them, they did not come in with that promptness

* A practice has prevailed in the colonies of giving the rank of General officers to gentlemen who have commissions in the militia. In real service this must be attended with much inconvenience, for it is not to be supposed that men who occasionally appear on a parade, or on field-days two or three times a-year, and whose avocations are incompatible with great military knowledge, should be sufficiently skilled in tactics, to plan either offensive or defensive operations. It will happen that regular officers of very inferior rank must be suddenly created temporary or local commanders, or the service be left to hazard. This observation is far from being intended as the slightest reflexion on the officers of the colonial militia, whose bravery and intelligence are in these volumes proved indisputable, but the thing speaks for itself. In England, the officers of the militia never rise to the rank of a General.

† Votes of the House of Assembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

which

which had been hoped at firſt. On the 24th, only two, Smith and Dunbar, had arrived at head-quarters. Old Montague's doubts were not eaſily ſubdued. He recollected that he had once before ſurrendered, with ſix-and-thirty of his people, previous to the commencement of hoſtilities; his treatment in Auguſt was a check on his confidence in December, and although he had entered into the treaty, he became the chief obſtacle to the performance of it; but in vain, for many of the Maroons told him that they were determined to have peace, whether he would or not. Several came in on the 28th, to whom General Walpole read Lord Balcarres's ratification of the treaty, endeavouring to ſatisfy them that no infringement of it would enſue, of which they ſeemed determined to be ſure*. At length the 1ſt of January, the day fixed for the ſurrender of the whole, arrived,

* Votes of the Houſe of Aſſembly.

and, to the great disappointment of General Walpole, it passed unnoticed. This was afterwards considered as a breach of the treaty, and literally it was; yet, perhaps, a great distinction might have been made, in the consideration of it, between a direct breach pregnant with defiance, and one that was suffered to take place through apprehension of severity: for such it was. The Maroons, terrified by the thoughts of the chasseurs, had resolved upon peace and submission, but fearful of their fate, they thought not of the particular consequence of such a breach; many straggled in, both before and after it was committed, and many could hardly prevail upon themselves to abandon their fastnesses and face their destiny: each was desirous that his neighbour should try the white faith first, and when one was satisfied, he returned and brought back most of his family*. With their fears, other causes combined to delay

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

the ſurrender of ſeveral, who had gone in queſt of their families, and had found them ſick and unable to travel; of ſome of their women loſt at the time of the laſt action one only was found; and yet the extent of the delay was but a fortnight, if we except the ſmall party with Palmer and Parkinſon who were out three months*. Be this as it may, the failure of a general ſurrender on the 1ſt of January was conſtrued to be a continuation of rebellion, and on the 5th, General Walpole received an order to advance with the dogs. The Spaniards began to be out of temper at not being permitted to act, and the General, who had hitherto been eager to entice in the dilatory Maroons rather than recur to force, now feared any longer temporizing, for, ſaid

* It may alſo be thought that Smith, Dunbar, and thoſe who ſurrendered on the 1ſt of January, were pledges for the coming in of their families; and that Johnſon's meſſengers were a proof of his compliance, as General Walpole on going out met them coming in.

he, if the Spaniards cannot be kept*, it would be better to avail ourſelves of the breach of the treaty by the Maroons, and to move on; as nothing can be clearer than that all treaty would ſoon terminate were they off the iſland†.

It would be uſeleſs to trace minutely the coming in of the Maroons, which was not completely effected till the 22d of March; however, ſome of the occurrences that took place may not be unintereſting. It was reſolved that in marching, the troops ſhould always precede the chaſſeurs, the very attendance of the latter being found to produce the deſired effect. Wherever they went, terror flew before them, anticipating their operations. On the 12th of

* The dogs were growing too fat from want of exerciſe. While kept at their ſtation on the hill at Vaughan's-field, they were never ſuffered to exerciſe, though it was requeſted by the Spaniards, who murmured very much, declaring that they would become unfit for action.

† Votes of the Houſe of Aſſembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

January,

January, as General Walpole was advancing, he received a meſſage from Johnſon, informing him that he and his party were coming to the cock-pit within the poſts, and requeſting that a ſupply of proviſions might be ready for them. The General, notwithſtanding, kept advancing, and on the 14th twenty-four more of the Maroons came in, and another meſſenger from Johnſon, to ſay that the number of the ſick he had with him would prevent his reaching the poſts that day, but that he would not fail to be in next morning. Forty-nine came in the ſame day, and on the next, the 15th, General Walpole met Johnſon with between fifty and ſixty Maroons coming in: ſeveral bodies followed, making in all ſince the treaty three hundred and twenty-ſix, to whom thoſe being added who had previouſly ſurrendered, the number of Trelawney Maroons in Lord Balcarres's poſſeſſion on the 16th of January was four hundred. By Lord Balcarres's order the

Maroons were marched down to Montego Bay under eſcort. They were ſent off at different times, General Walpole retaining with him ſeveral, conſiſting chiefly of the families of Johnſon and Smith, for the purpoſe of influencing the remainder who were ſtill out to ſurrender. Johnſon and Smith particularly, were indefatigable in their exertions to bring them in, and ſucceeded with ſome; but Palmer and Parkinſon, the two men who, we may remember, had been charged with adviſing the Maroons to ſet fire to their towns, and for whoſe heads a conſiderable reward had been offered, having from the hills which overlooked head-quarters obſerved the different bodies of thoſe who had ſurrendered marched off towards Montego Bay with an eſcort of troops, conceived ſome treachery meant towards them, and with their party and ſome others, who, going in, were alarmed by a falſe report of the approach of the Spaniards and dogs, fled into the remoter cock-pits to the ſouthward.

ward. This information was brought by Johnſon and five other Maroons, who had been ſent to prevail upon the reſt to come in, and who in their return, after an abſence of ſix days, the time allowed them, were accompanied by ſix additional able Maroons, and a great many women and children. Johnſon and Smith evinced the greateſt fidelity in the excurſions they frequently made in queſt of the body remaining in the woods, in which they never failed to perſuade many to return with them. Johnſon, while his people continued at head-quarters with him, kept them in great order, refuſing them rum, and puniſhing the ſlighteſt diſobedience.

Palmer and Parkinſon in their flight had left a white flag at Pond River, where, on its being found, Smith turned to General Walpole and ſaid, "Sir, we can bring them in as eaſy as kiſs your hand." He preſſed for a party of eight Maroons, to be accompanied by a detachment of the troops,

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but without dogs, to go in ſearch of them: and both he and Johnſon repeatedly aſſured General Walpole that they believed every man might now be brought in. The General was deſirous of trying the experiment, but could not obtain the conſent of Lord Balcarres, who had now removed to Dromilly, a little farther from head-quarters, and who thought, from Smith's application and the propoſal of going without dogs, that not a moment was to be loſt. General Walpole, however, conceived the loſs to conſiſt in letting ſlip the opportunity of bringing in all the Maroons that were out, and lamented it, while he obeyed his Lordſhip's orders of ſending the Maroons to Montego Bay *.

The party out had now proceeded ſo far into the remoter receſſes of the mountains, that it became very difficult to find them, without reſorting to the meaſure of permitting the Spaniards to advance.

* Votes of the Houſe of Aſſembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

They

They were more eager than ever, wishing to go out alone, and to remain, till they completed the business, in the woods; where they declared they could live for ever, for they afforded much more sustenance than those of their own country. They pointed out several articles of wholesome food, with which the Maroons were unacquainted; particularly a plant having the appearance of fern, with a thin, long root. This root, when grated, is equal to the best cassava, and there was an inexhaustible supply of it near Trelawney-Town.

On the 11th of February, Johnson and Smith returned from one of their excursions, bringing with them about thirty Maroons. Palmer and Parkinson, however, were not of the number: having received very exaggerated accounts of the Maroon affairs, and of what they had themselves to expect, they had removed, as I have already observed, with a small

party to a considerable distance. General Walpole being determined to rout them, sent a detachment of the 13th light dragoons under Lieutenant Gubbins, accompanied by some of the chasseurs with their dogs, and a few of the Accompong Maroons as guides, in search of them. The party, ill supplied with provisions, and ignorant of any springs in the country through which they were to pass, entered the woods from the side of St. Elizabeth at One-Eye, with a resolution to penetrate either directly through the cock-pits, or up the banks of Hector's River*. After a persevering march of several days, in which the troops suffered extremely by thirst as well as fatigue, the commanding officer finding that his provisions would not hold out much longer, was under the necessity of returning from the woods.

On the 26th of February General Walpole, accompanied by Colonel Skinner,

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

marched from Old Maroon Town with detachments of the 13th light dragoons and 16th infantry, consisting of about eighty men, attended by a party of the Spanish chasseurs, and passing through Eldersly, Accompong-Town, and Aberdeen, was conducted by Colonel James Rowe, on the 29th, to a hill about a mile and a half behind the last place, whence a smoke had been frequently discovered, which was again seen this morning in a north-east direction, apparently at no great distance; and it was supposed that the party could reach the spot from which it rose, in the course of the day. They accordingly marched on till four o'clock in the afternoon, when they halted, and encamped in a large glade, at the foot of a very steep and rocky hill. Here the men complained of great thirst, and, on enquiry, the water carried for their supply was found to be nearly exhausted, there remaining only half a pint for each man's allowance next day. In the morning the

party moved forward about two miles, and then halted for information from a Spaniard who had been ſent to the top of a high hill to reconnoitre, and who, on his return, reported that the ſmoke appeared to be ſtill five miles diſtant. There was now no water left, nor was there any hope of procuring a ſupply, General Walpole therefore thought it neceſſary to order the return of the party. Upon this, Zeny, a Spaniard who was reſiding at Montego Bay when the chaſſeurs from Cuba arrived there, and who, at the invitation of the commiſſioner, had joined the other Spaniards as an interpreter, offered to proceed with the chaſſeurs, if the General would give him ten men. General Walpole refuſed to order the men to advance; but ſaid he had no objection to ten volunteering the ſervice, if Zeny thought he ſhould be able to procure them a ſufficient ſupply of water. Zeny was of an enterpriſing character; his ſpirit and conduct had raiſed him highly in the opinion of General

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Walpole and the commiſſioner, through whoſe recommendation he had been made a captain of the Spaniards. He ſaid, he had no doubt of procuring water enough for ſo ſmall a party from the wild-pines, withes, and cotton-tree roots. Nine of the 13th light dragoons, headed by Quarter-maſter Wilkinſon, immediately offered themſelves as volunteers, and proceeded with Zeny and the Spaniards, accompanied by Mr. Lambert Tate*, a ſurgeon, Mr. Francis Robertſon, a ſurveyor, and Smith the Maroon captain. Smith, according to his orders, after conducting the party a little way, returned to the main body, which ſoon after left the woods. The ſmall party then marched forward two miles, and halted. At this time Robertſon, being taken ill, ſent his ſervant to examine the wild-pines and withes, which were found

* This gentleman, who was a great ſufferer by the Maroon war, kept a journal of occurrences, an extract of which I was favoured with by Mr. Robertſon, the gentleman to whom I am indebted for the map of the ſeat of the war. From that extract I have drawn up the account of this expedition into the woods.

to be dry. He ſtrongly urged Zeny to return, obſerving, that from his knowledge of that part of the country, he was convinced that the party would be in great danger of periſhing from thirſt if they proceeded: but the Spaniard determined to puſh on at all events, and Robertſon quitted them. Zeny now directed his march more to the northward, hoping, if the enterpriſe failed, to be able to reach Old Maroon-Town. In the evening the party paſſing two deſerted huts, and entering a glade where thatch had been recently cut, it was ſuppoſed they were near the town. In this bottom Zeny encamped, judging it better to give reſt to the men and the dogs, now exhauſted with fatigue as well as thirſt, and to advance on the Maroons in the morning with the day before him, when the enemy would be leſs able to avail themſelves of their ſuperior knowledge of the ground than in the night. The party had ſcarcely erected their huts, when the barking of a dog

was heard near them. They got immediately under arms, and, proceeding in the direction of the ſound, diſcovered a negro endeavouring to make his eſcape. One of the Spaniſh dogs was ſent after him. On coming up, the negro cut him twice with his muſchet, on which the dog ſeized him by the nape of the neck, and ſecured him. He proved to be a runaway, ſaid that he and two other negroes had deſerted the Maroons a few days before, and that the party was at a great diſtance from the town, but that he would conduct them to it by noon next day. He told Captain Zeny that there was water in the town, but no where elſe. Early next morning, March the 3d, the party advanced, headed by the priſoner, and paſſed through a deſerted town in which there were upwards of a hundred huts, ſituated in a large bottom ſurrounded by rocks. This was Johnſon's town prior to his ſurrender. In the evening the party came up to two huts, where fires had been recently made. At this

place they halted for the night. The negro here informed them that they were within four hours march of the town; but the dragoons conceiving that he had purposely led them astray to destroy the party, became very impatient, threatening to shoot him, and to endeavour to return. They were however dissuaded, by their quarter-master and Captain Zeny, from their design, which it would have been impossible for them to effect, as they must have perished had they attempted another day's march without water. The one they had just accomplished had been truly distressing. The men in walking reeled as if intoxicated, and had frequently dropped in the way. They had moistened their mouths with their sweat, and would have drunk their own urine, had they not been dissuaded by the surgeon. The dogs were also worn out, and went on with great difficulty. In this situation Zeny despaired of succeeding by an attack; but conjecturing that the idea of the dogs being so near them would terrify,

terrify, and induce the Maroons to capitulate, he propoſed ſending a flag of truce into the town, by a negro man who had come with the party, to offer the terms accepted by Johnſon, on condition of their immediate ſurrender. Tate the ſurgeon offered to go in with the flag, which Zeny thought too hazardous, and at firſt refuſed. The party advanced next morning by daybreak, and marched till, according to their priſoner's account, they were within a mile of the town, when they halted; and Zeny, conſidering the forlorn ſtate of their hope, conſented to Mr. Tate's going in with the flag. "Here," ſaid he to him, "I will wait two hours, after which, if I do not ſee Parkinſon, Palmer, or yourſelf, I ſhall conclude you have been murdered, and I will proceed with the party to ſell our lives as dearly as poſſible. But ſhould you be able to prevail on either Parkinſon or Palmer to come out and meet me, you may remain in the town as a hoſtage." Tate gave his arms to one of the men,

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and advanced with the negro and their prifoner for their guide. At the diftance of a quarter of a mile from the party, they came up to two fires burning, and a Maroon from the wood-fide called to Tate, afking what a white man wanted there. Tate replied, that his bufinefs was with Parkinfon or Palmer; on which he was told to go no farther, and that they fhould be fent to him. In about five minutes; Tate hailed the Maroon, and receiving no anfwer, proceeded on his way with the two negroes. They met feveral Maroons and runaways, fome of whom were abufive and fome filent, but none offered any violence. They were informed by the two negroes of the ftrength and fituation of Zeny's party, but one of the Maroons going away faid in an exulting tone; "We will punifh buckra for true for coming here this time." Having walked on two miles inftead of one beyond the party, Tate perceiving another Maroon on the top of a hill at the entrance of a defile, pre-

presenting his gun at him, called out that he had business with Captain Parkinson. The Maroon made no answer, but kept his gun presented till Tate was very near the muzzle, when taking it from his shoulder, he said in a surly voice: "You one buckra may pass this time, but the next we see we all fire." There were about twenty men armed with guns and muschets in this defile, through which only one man could pass at a time. The town was situated at the bottom of the hill. Descending into it, Tate saw a Maroon giving orders to others, and addressing him, asked for Parkinson or Palmer. This proved to be Parkinson himself, who desired to know what he wanted. Tate told him that Captain Zeny, with a detachment of dragoons and the Spaniards, was close to the town, and had merely from motives of humanity, sent him in to offer them once more the terms which Johnson had accepted. "What are those terms?" said the Maroon. Tate said he

did not know. "What became of Captain Jarrat and the other captains who were taken up on their way to Spanish Town?" Of this Tate declared he was ignorant. "How were the Maroons situated at Montego-Bay?" The answer to this was, that Tate had seen Johnson and several others in Old Maroon-Town, who appeared perfectly happy, and that they received the same allowance of every thing as the soldiers. He further assured Parkinson that their wounded men had been regularly attended to and dressed. On this a Maroon, named Harding, came up and enquired for his son, who had received a ball through the fleshy part of the thigh. Being informed that his wound was nearly healed, the old man was greatly rejoiced, thanked Mr. Tate, and immediately became an advocate in his cause. Harding's conduct produced a favourable change in the minds of many, who became more placid and civil. Parkinson declared that it had long been his wish, as well as that

of the other Maroons, to come in, but that they had never been able to aſcertain the terms on which they would be admitted. Tate adviſed him to go and meet Captain Zeny, on whoſe word he might depend, and who had full power from the Governor and General Walpole to treat with him. He urged his going immediately, as the time allowed by Zeny was nearly expired, offering to remain as a hoſtage; on which Parkinſon conducted him to his hut, and went forward to meet the party. It was ſoon known by the Maroons that there was a good underſtanding between him and Zeny, and Tate was allowed to join them, accompanied by two boys loaded with canteens of water. It was agreed between Zeny and Parkinſon, that Schaw, Parkinſon's nephew, ſhould go back with the party and hear the terms at head-quarters, and that if they were ſuch as Zeny had mentioned, the Maroons ſhould all come in. The troops and Spaniards being ſupplied with water, marched

out of the woods accompanied by Schaw, who on the 6th proceeded with the Spaniards to Old Maroon-Town, and ſoon after returned with Johnſon and Smith to Parkinſon and Palmer, who yielding to the terms offered them, agreed to ſurrender.

On the 16th of March four Maroons diſpatched by Johnſon arrived at Old Maroon-Town, and informed General Walpole that he was on his way with the whole remaining body of the Maroons. Some of them being hog-hunting, they could not be all collected at once; but on the 21ſt, Parkinſon, with thirty-ſix of his party, ſurrendered, bringing with them forty-four ſtands of arms. The whole number now remaining in the woods was thirteen, and theſe, with the reſt of the runaways, ſurrendered next day. Thus concluded hoſtilities, without recourſe being once had to the aſſiſtance of the chaſſeurs, beyond the operation of the terror they inſpired,

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but which it was very evident had been the means of producing the treaty, and of accelerating the ſurrender of the ſeveral bodies whoſe diſtruſt kept them back ſo long after it was made; and who, as they gradually came in, always required that the Spaniards and dogs ſhould be removed, and ſeparated from them by a line of the troops. One knows not which to admire moſt, the activity and addreſs with which they were procured, or the humanity that in ſpite of three months provocation prevented their being employed in action *.

* It is hardly worth while to mention an accident by which an old woman loſt her life, but it has been ſuggeſted that the omiſſion of it may receive an unfavourable conſtruction. One of the dogs that had been unmuzzled to drink when there was not the leaſt appprehenſion of any miſchief, went up to the woman, who was ſitting attending to a pot in which ſhe was preparing a meſs. The dog ſmelled at it, and was troubleſome; this provoked her, ſhe took up a ſtick and began to beat him, on which he ſeized on her throat, which he would not let go till his head was ſevered from his body by his maſter. The wind-pipe of the woman being much torn, ſhe could not be ſaved.

To the ſkill, temper, and benevolence of General Walpole are the coloniſts, whom he had a little before ſaved from humiliation, indebted for this bloodleſs triumph; and to William Dawes Quarrell are they indebted for ſuggeſting, and procuring the means by which the iſland was ſaved from deſtruction. "We cannot but take this opportunity," ſay the Aſſembly, in requeſting the Lieutenant-Governor to give orders for the diſmiſſion of the chaſſeurs, "of expreſſing our acknowledgments of the eminent advantages derived from the importation of the chaſſeurs and dogs, in compliance with the general wiſhes of the iſland. Nothing can be clearer, than that if they had been off the iſland, the rebels could not have been induced to ſurrender, from their almoſt inacceſſible faſtneſſes. We are happy to have it in our power to ſay, that terror excited by the appearance of the dogs, has been ſufficient to produce ſo fortunate an event; and we cannot

cannot but highly approve that attention to humanity ſo ſtrongly proved by their being ordered in the rear of the army"*.

* Votes of the Houſe of Aſſembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

LETTER XIII.

Contrary Opinions respecting General Walpole's Treaty with the Maroons.—Meeting of some of the Members of the Council and Assembly.—Special Secret Committee of the Council and Assembly.—Their Resolutions respecting the Treaty.—Their Reasons.—General Walpole dissatisfied.—His Reasons.—The Banishment of the Maroons desirable on their own Account.—Public Submission and Oath of the Windward Maroons.—The Trelawney Maroons sent to Kingston.—Exceptions in favour of some of them.—The Favour waved.—Observations.—Thanks and a Sword voted to Lord Balcarres.—The same to General Walpole, who declines receiving the Sword.—Resolution of the Assembly to expunge his Answer from their Minutes.—Reward voted to Colonel Quarrell for his Services.—Monument to the Memory of the Slain.—Reward of the Chasseurs. Their Departure.

On the wisdom of the treaty there could be, and there was, but one opinion. It was universally approved. Very unfortunately, however, the execution of it gave rise to a difference, which ended in the

the resignation of the honourable and distinguished officer by whom it had been so judiciously effected. He quitted, in disgust, a profession in which he was eminently calculated to shine; and, by his retiring, the service lost an honest and gallant soldier. A consequence that renders it necessary for me to state the nature of the cause of it, and the counter opinions that were entertained on the subject.

On the 24th of December, on receiving information of the pacification, the Governor called a meeting of such members of the Council and Assembly as could be convened, who, taking the treaty into consideration, resolved: "That if the Trelawney Maroons, according to the third article of their treaty, delivered up the runaways that had joined them, and if they, according to the first article of their treaty, laid down their arms, which arms were to be taken away from them, that then, and in such case, General Walpole's secret article ought

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to be ratified, as far as their not being ſent off the iſland; but that they were to remain in Jamaica, ſubject to ſuch regulations as the Governor, Council, and Aſſembly, might think proper to enact in that reſpect." A day had been appointed by General Walpole for the ſurrender of the Maroons, which elapſed without compliance. Of this the General informed Lord Balcarres, previous to his ratification of the treaty*; but his Lordſhip ſo highly approved of the terms, that he made no heſitation in ratifying it, and appointed a ſubſequent day for the ſurrender. The new-fixed day alſo elapſed without the deſired effect. The Maroons ſurrendered by degrees, as they were terrified by information of the approach of the chaſſeurs, or induced by the repreſentation of thoſe ſent to them by General Walpole to encourage them to come in: although the great body of them had ſurrendered in a ſhort time, it

* Votes of the Aſſembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

was

was three months from the date of the treaty before they were all got in; and the runaway negroes were not formally delivered up. In the interval, the tranſportation of the Maroons became the ſubject of converſation, and reaching General Walpole's ears about the middle of March, he expoſtulated upon it with Lord Balcarres. He expreſſed his uneaſineſs at the report of the legiſlature's meaning to infringe the capitulation accepted by him, and ratified by his Lordſhip. He ſaid, that as it was through him alone that the Maroons were induced to ſurrender, from their reliance on his word, from a conviction impreſſed upon them by him that the white people would never break their faith, he felt himſelf called upon to ſee a due obſervance of the terms, or in caſe of violation to reſign his command. Lord Balcarres, in reply, aſſured him, that if the terms of the treaty were complied with by the Maroons, he ſhould be of opinion with him, that the country was bound in honour

honour not to ſend them off the iſland; but that he thought the country had a right to every advantage the treaty afforded, and that he ſhould certainly leave it to the legiſlature to decide whether it had been obſerved or not. To make this deciſion, a ſpecial ſecret committee was appointed, compoſed of members of the Council and Aſſembly. General Walpole requeſted of the committee to be permitted to give his evidence to them; which, without reflecting that he who had made the treaty, had a moral right to be heard in evidence upon it, they waved, obſerving, that they had had full information from the Lieutenant-Governor on all the points before them*.

* This does not ſeem to have been in conformity with the ſentiments of Lord Balcarres, who in his letter of the 9th of March to General Walpole, ſays; "From the high ſituation which you have filled, from the intercourſe and converſations you have had with theſe Maroons, and above all, that theſe unhappy people may have every circumſtance adduced to the Aſſembly that can operate in their favour, it may be fair and right in you to give an opinion, if you are ſo inclined, how far, in your conception, theſe people have complied with the articles of the treaty."—*Votes of the Aſſembly.*

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The decifion of the committee was made in ten refolutions *. By the third, they were of opinion that the Maroons who furrendered at Vaughans-field, under the proclamation of the 8th of Auguft, together with the fix captains taken up at St. Ann's in their way to Spanifh Town, having come in *before any actual hoftilities*, fhould *be fent off the ifland.* By the fourth, they were of opinion that Smith, Dunbar, and Williams, with their wives and children, and the two boys who came in on the 1ft of January, were entitled to the benefit of the treaty. By the feventh and eighth, they were of opinion that all the Maroons who furrendered after the 1ft of January, including Johnfon and his party, ought to be fhipped off the ifland. The decifion for tranfporting the Maroons was grounded on their breach of the treaty in two points: the failure of furrender at the time prefcribed; and the neglect of delivering up the run-

* Votes of the Affembly. Appendix, No. 3.

aways who had joined them, and moſt of whom came in as Maroons. On the other hand, General Walpole and his friends conceived the treaty not to have been ſufficiently infringed by the Maroons to warrant the deciſion. Their delay in coming in the General conſidered ſo far a breach as to juſtify the modes he uſed of terrifying them by means of the chaſſeurs to ſurrender, but his chief endeavour had been to remove their fears of the conſequences of their coming in, and to convince them that the terms agreed to ſhould be ſacredly fulfilled*; therefore not to keep thoſe terms, was to put him in the ſituation of a deceiver, or of a cat's-paw†. In about a fortnight they had all ſurrendered, except a ſmall party of thirty or forty, who continued out with Palmer and Parkinſon‡. The Maroons, as they came in, conceived

* Votes of the Aſſembly. Appendix, No. 3.

† He was fearful leſt he ſhould appear to have drawn the Maroons into a treaty which he knew was afterwards to be broken.

‡ Votes of the Aſſembly. Appendix, No. 3.

it was upon the terms of the treaty. The very laſt party, as we have ſeen, were of that opinion. They had committed no hoſtility, and were withheld chiefly by diſtruſt, to obviate which, the general had been very reluctant in obeying the repeated orders of Lord Balcarres for marching the Maroons to Montego Bay, particularly on account of the families of Johnſon and Smith, well knowing the effect it would have on being perceived from the hills by their diſtruſtful comrades, who had ſpies placed there, and did actually draw the concluſion of treachery from their removal *. The field officers on the ſpot never differed in opinion †. In ſhort, their conduct and his could not but be conſidered as a perpetually renewed pledge of the terms of peace, from which no aſſembly in the world could releaſe him. As to the neglect of delivering up the runaways, the fire-arms had been taken from them as a preparatory meaſure; and

* Votes of the Aſſembly. Appendix, No. 3. † Ibid.

ſo far was the ſuffering them to come in in the character of Maroons from being a proof of a breach, that it was to be eſteemed the very reverſe, for apprehending that the runaways would eſcape, as ſeveral did, Smith had adviſed the project *, the better to ſecure them ; and they were ultimately pointed out.

Be the force of theſe opinions on either ſide what it may, certain it is that the Aſſembly thought that the ſituation of the country would be rendered more ſecure by the removal of the Maroons from the iſland, and in this opinion they were ſupported by that of a very high authority in England, who judged it to be the preferable plan of diſpoſing of them, if it could be done with propriety †. After all, it was not perhaps leſs the intereſt of the Maroons themſelves than of the coloniſts, that they ſhould be removed.

* Votes of the Aſſembly. Appendix, No. 3.

† Duke of Portland's Letter to Lord Balcarres. Appendix, No. 3.

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A cordial reconciliation between them and the white people was hardly to be expected, while the inherent animoſity of the ſlaves would have received an inexhauſtible ſupply of fuel from their humiliation. Driven from the dangerous regions of their ſtrength and proud defiance, diſarmed, and reſtricted to ſome open ſituation at a diſtance from their native mountains; controlled in all their motions, degraded from the ſuperior character they had ſuſtained, inſulted and reviled, their exiſtence, even were that to have been left ſafe by the ſlaves, would have been a burden rather than an enjoyment. Their removal, therefore, wanted nothing but the motive, and the certainty of a place of reſt, to have made it an act of mercy. They were themſelves ſoon convinced that it was the preferable alternative, and as ſuch became perfectly reſigned to it.

Let us now return to the order of the narrative. On the 18th of March, the

windward Maroons, who we may remember had ſhown a ſpirit of diſobedience by quitting their quarters in Spaniſh Town and returning home, made a public ſubmiſſion on their knees, and took the oath of allegiance to his Majeſty, in the preſence of commiſſioners expreſsly appointed. The Trelawney Maroons, who, as they ſurrendered, had been ſent into confinement at Montego Bay and St. Ann's, were now removed to Kingſton, ſome being ſent round in veſſels and ſome marched acroſs the country, preparatory to their final baniſhment. It having been recommended by the joint-committee to the Lieutenant-Governor, to permit ſome of the Maroons who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their repentance and ſubſequent good behaviour, to remain in the iſland, and to grant them ſuch other marks of favour as he ſhould think proper, Lord Balcarres gave orders for Johnſon, Smith, Williams, Dunbar, and others, with their families, to be permitted to land; but theſe, led by their feelings to

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wave the diſtinction, petitioned to ſhare the exile of their companions, and to be provided for in the ſame manner *. All the Maroons now yielded without reluctance to their fate, ſtrongly impreſſed with the idea that, if they were landed and permitted without arms to make their way home, it would require a ſtrong military force to protect them from being cut to pieces by the ſlaves and free people of colour.

Thus terminated a war by which one of the fineſt colonies of Great Britain was

* They were told they might land with their families. Smith had four wives, and he and the others extended their ideas of family ſo far, that a great number would have been landed:—but, on being informed that they were allowed only one wife each, and her young children, they preferred going. Smith, Williams, and Dunbar, we ſaw, were of right exempted from baniſhment, according to the deciſion of the committee; but the deciſion of nature was obeyed. Did theſe men regard their wives as ſo many beaſts of burden, and feel no more concern at the loſs of one of them than as a planter at the loſs of a bullock? Was it a common thing for them to ſeize their own infants, and daſh them to death againſt a rock, for crying? See *Edwards's Account of the Maroons.*

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threatened with total deſtruction. The accounts received of it at the time were miſunderſtood and miſrepreſented. On the one hand, the Maroons were ſtated to be the fierceſt and moſt inhuman of ſavages; and on the other, the very idea of the uſe of Spaniſh dogs was reprobated as a proof of greater barbarity being practiſed by the coloniſts. Time, that opens the avenues to reaſon which paſſion and prejudice cloſe up, evinces the employment of the Spaniſh chaſſeurs to have been both prudent and humane; and has alſo diveſted the character of the Maroons of that barbarous ſavageneſs with which exaggeration painted it when the paſſions of men called for high colouring. That they would ſacrifice thoſe whom they conſidered as their enemies, and that they ſtrove to excite terror by their actions, cannot be denied: but many of the horrors attributed to them are void of foundation. "Even women in child-bed and infants at the breaſt, were alike indiſcriminately ſlaughtered by this ſavage enemy," ſays Edwards, "and the

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ſhrieks of the miſerable victims, which were diſtinctly heard at the poſts of the Britiſh detachments, frequently conveyed the firſt notice that the Maroons were in the neighbourhood." This was not the fact: no woman in child-bed, no infant at the breaſt, was ever put to death by a Maroon, no ſhrieks heard at the poſts of the Britiſh detachments. "Proceeding to a plantation of Dr. Brooks," ſays the ſame author, "they burnt the buildings to the ground, and killed two white men who oppoſed them. They left, however, a white woman and her infant unmoleſted; and as this was the firſt inſtance of tenderneſs ſhown by the rebels to women and children, it was imputed rather to the conſciouſneſs of their inability to continue the war, and the hopes of getting better terms on a treaty by this act of lenity, than to any change in their diſpoſition." To kill men and burn buildings at the very moment that a due regard is ſhown to age and ſex, can be no proof that a treaty of peace was in contemplation. This cir-

cumſtance took place early in the war; Brooks's was one of the firſt houſes burnt, and was ſet on fire by Johnſon's party, juſt after his return from finding his own ſettlement deſtroyed. He had before adviſed the Maroons to ſue for peace, but at this time he breathed nothing but vengeance, and had his paſſions ever led him to ſuch horrid violations of humanity as he has been charged with, it would have been now. After other hoſtile incurſions, he was proceeding to Brooks's, near which, and in his way, ſtood a ſmall houſe belonging to a white woman, whoſe name was Letitia Mahoney, who had ſeveral ſmall children. The woman on ſeeing him was terrified, and at her firſt emotion thought of flying from him, but he called to her not to be afraid, and coming up to her, told her he was not fighting with women and infants, and that no harm ſhould be done to her or her children, but that the party were going to kill the white men who were at Brooks's. He then adviſed her to keep out of the way

of their ſhot, and directed her with her children to a ſafe place. Some years have now elapſed ſince the events of this war, and juſtice and truth need no longer be ſuppreſſed by policy.

The war being now concluded, the Aſſembly took into conſideration the eminent ſervices that had been rendered to their country. To Lord Balcarres they voted thanks, and ſeven hundred guineas to purchaſe a ſword. To General Walpole they alſo voted thanks, and five hundred guineas for the ſame purpoſe. His Lordſhip, conſcious of having done his duty as a ſoldier, whoſe honour he thought placed with emblem and emphaſis in his ſword, declared he ſhould tranſmit the precious gift to his poſterity as an everlaſting mark of the reverence, the attachment, and gratitude he bore to the iſland of Jamaica. General Walpole, on receiving the Votes of the Houſe, wrote to the Speaker of the Aſſembly, acknowledging their condeſcenſion, giving a great part

of

of the merit of his ſucceſs to the zeal, ſkill, and gallantry of Colonel Skinner and the reſt of his field officers, and declaring that without their aſſiſtance all his endeavours muſt have failed. He declined, however, the honour intended him by the vote for a ſword, which he conceived he could not with credit to himſelf receive, as the Houſe had thought fit not to accede to the argreement entered into by him and the Trelawney-Town Maroons, and as their opinion of that treaty ſtood on their minutes very different from his conception of it. This letter the Aſſembly conſidered, as containing a miſrepreſentation of their proceedings, and to be couched in terms diſreſpectful and derogatory to the honour and dignity of the Houſe, and ordered it to be expunged from their minutes *.

In eſtimating the eminent ſervices rendered to the iſland, we cannot but ſuppoſe

* Votes of the Aſſembly.

that

that thoſe of Colonel Quarrell became the ſubject of the Aſſembly's thanks and reward, as they had previouſly been the topic of the admiration and gratitude of the country at large. His arrival from Cuba had illumined every countenance with joy; and to the ſucceſs of his miſſion the community, in their ardour, had aſcribed the ſalvation of the iſland. They had celebrated, in terms of rapture, the energy and activity that had overcome difficulties apparently inſurmountable, his diſregard of perſonal ſafety, his expoſure at ſea, his riſk on ſhore, and had loudly proclaimed him entitled to as ſubſtantial marks of public eſteem as could be gained by the moſt ſplendid military achievement. In doing this, they had reflected on the many lives that might have been loſt, the plantations that might have been burnt, the hundred thouſands of pounds that might have been added to the tax-rolls, before the ſpreading evil could have been ſtopped by the ordinary mode of war, had even that melancholy hope been realized:

many tears, much private diſtreſs, much public expence, they had gratefully owned, had been ſaved by the wiſdom and addreſs with which the cauſe of their joy had been planned and executed. The Aſſembly too, in addreſſing the Lieutenant-Governor, had done juſtice in ſome meaſure to this opinion of the public, by ſtating that " nothing was clearer than that if the chaſſeurs had been off the iſland, the rebels could not have been induced to ſurrender from their almoſt inacceſſible faſtneſſes: and by declaring in expreſs terms, that the ſubmiſſion of the Maroons was owing to them*." Having the ſervices of Colonel Quarrell in contemplation, with a full knowledge of the ſentiments of the country, and of their own opinion, they voted him as a reward, the ſum of ſeven hundred pounds currency †, unaccompanied by

* Votes of the Aſſembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

† Seven hundred pounds currency is five hundred pounds ſterling, which, payable in Jamaica, was at that time, according to the rate of exchange, equal to four hundred and twenty-five pounds payable in London.

thanks

thanks, or any notice whatever. I feel an almoſt irreſiſtible inclination to comment on this vote, in ſpite of the injunction I have received to the contrary, nor can I refrain from making a general obſervation, the truth of which is ſupported by it. The generality of mankind are indiſpoſed to ſee or to reward the merit of their equals, while they are prompt enough to diſtinguiſh thoſe who are already above them, as well as to extol and exalt their inferiors. Colonel Quarrell was a member of the Aſſembly. He treated the vote with great good humour: "Gentlemen," ſaid he, when he met them in private, "I do not conſider your vote as an inſult, becauſe I am perſuaded it is not meant to be one; but a pecuniary recompence ſhould at leaſt have been adequate to time and trouble. What attorney among you does not get more for riding at his eaſe once a-year from one ſide of the iſland to the other? You might, methinks, have beſtowed a more flattering diſtinction on me, and at a leſs expence. I

once

once, when but a boy from ſchool, received, with others, the thanks of the Aſſembly for my exertions againſt the ſlaves who were in rebellion when I came to the iſland:—perhaps I do not deſerve it leſs now; and when you were voting ſwords, I think you might at leaſt have voted me a ſmall couteau, or Spaniſh muſchet."

On the termination of the war, a committee was appointed to enquire into loſſes ſuſtained by individuals, that they might obtain relief. Nor were the dead forgotten: the Houſe of Aſſembly took into conſideration the honours due to thoſe who had fallen in the ſervice of the country during the rebellion, and voted a monument to perpetuate the memory of them, and the gratitude of the iſland.

Seven thouſand dollars were voted to the chaſſeurs, who had been retained in the public ſervice for a longer time than ſpeci-

ſpecified in their contract; and a proviſion was made for their return to their own country. It is greatly to be lamented that theſe people did not leave the iſland ſo ſatisfied as might have been expected, and as would have been the caſe, had not ſome evil-minded low traders in Montego Bay taken pains to perſuade them, that they were entitled to the full ſpecific rewards for every Maroon that came in, as they had been proclaimed. They alſo got into ſome unfortunate ſquabbles and riots with ſailors, in which miſchief was done on both ſides, and a few of them were impriſoned, but were diſcharged on an inveſtigation made by the magiſtrates of the town. How they were received on their return to Cuba is not known, but, on their departure for Jamaica, they carried with them the gratitude and warm wiſhes of all the coloniſts.

LETTER XIV.

Tranſportation of the Trelawney Maroons.—Canada Plan.—Negroes healthy in a cold Climate.—Sum voted by the Houſe of Aſſembly for removing the Maroons to America.—William Dawes Quarrell appointed Commiſſary-General.—Purport of his Commiſſion.—Departure of the Maroons.—Conduct during their Paſſage to Halifax in Nova Scotia.—Arrival and Reception there.—Viſited by Prince Edward.—Their Loyalty.—Suffered to land, and employed on the Works at the Citadel.—In general Favour.—Arrival of Diſpatches from the Duke of Portland.—The Governor of the Province undertakes to make Arrangements for the Settlement of the Maroons.—The Commiſſary-General communicates his Sentiments on the Subject to the Iſland of Jamaica.—Lands at Preſton purchaſed.—State of the Place.—Navigation from the Bay of Fundy to Halifax.—Facility of opening a Communication by the River Schubennaccadie.—Advantages that would attend it.—Maroons remove to Preſton.—Military Commiſſions given to ſome of them.—Appointments made by the Governor in the Maroon Eſtabliſhment.—Attempt to convert the Maroons.—Their Objections to Marriage.—Uproar among the Women.—The Commiſſary-General deſirous of quitting Nova Scotia.—Reſolutions of the Houſe of Aſſembly of Jamaica reſpecting a final Proviſion for the Maroons.

THE tranſportation of the Maroons having been reſolved upon by the deciſion of the joint

joint committee of the Council and Aſſembly, it became neceſſary to adopt ſome plan reſpecting a place for their deſtination. Unſettled lands in North America were thought of, as remote from the ocean as poſſible, from an apprehenſion that a maritime ſituation would afford them opportunities to eſcape and return to the iſland of Jamaica. The gentleman who had ſuggeſted the plan for reducing the Maroons, now propoſed Upper Canada as the moſt eligible ſituation for their final ſettlement. Colonel Quarrell had ſome years before travelled through that country, in which Governor Simcoe was now extending colonial eſtabliſhments with great judgment and perſeverance; and it appeared to him, that theſe people might, by that officer's judgment, be ſo ſettled and diſpoſed of as to become a valuable acquiſition to his government. On ſurrendering Detroit, which by the definitive treaty with America was to be given up to the United States, that active and intelligent officer was appointed by his Majeſty to attend

to the colonization and improvement of the Britiſh territories on the other ſide of the boundary; and ſo rapid and ſucceſsful were his enterpriſes, that in the very ſhort courſe of his adminiſtration large cultivated diſtricts and ſeveral beautiful towns had riſen in thoſe vaſt foreſts and endleſs wilds. In this country it was, placed in different diſtricts, or kept together in one body, as the wiſdom of General Simcoe ſhould direct, that the iſland of Jamaica intended, on a very liberal eſtimate, to diſpoſe of the body of people who had given them ſo much uneaſineſs; to provide them with lands, houſes, implements of huſbandry, and every comfort that could be expected, and to maintain them alſo for a time, till they had rendered themſelves independent. Whatever be the fate of the queſtions reſpecting the commencement of hoſtilities, and the obſervance of the treaty with the Maroons, this deſign demands the higheſt praiſe. It was noble, and had it been accompliſhed, would perhaps have outweighed the worſt conſtruction that could

have

have been given in the ſolution of thoſe queſtions. The Maroons, thus diſpoſed of, would have been ſurrounded by induſtrious cultivators, with increaſing population. Led by example to induſtry, and remote from the profligacy and diſſipation of a ſea-port, they would ſoon have acquired a tractability of manners ſuitable to their ſituation, and conducive to the general good. Many of them might have been uſefully employed by the Governor in different ways, particularly as guards for depôts of all kinds, whether commercial or military, for which they were well ſuited. The diſtance from the ſea, and the difficulty of reaching it, would at once have baniſhed every idea of ever ſeeing Jamaica again, and would have rooted from their minds all hope of returning, a hope which we ſhall find, on being excited, rendered them averſe to the labour of cultivation. Had they reached Quebec in July, which, from the period of their departure from Jamaica might have been the caſe, they would, allowing every poſſible delay, have arrived

at the place propoſed for them in the month of October, and at no greater expence for conveyance and maintenance than was incurred for three months ſupport where they were eventually landed. It may not be improper to obſerve here, that the climate of Upper Canada is by no means to be compared for ſeverity with that of Lower Canada. Even at Quebec and Montreal, a diſtance of only one hundred and ninety miles, the climate varies conſiderably. The river St. Lawrence, running a north-eaſterly courſe through the lakes Ontario and Erie, leaves the parts of the Britiſh empire in America towards the ſtreights of Detroit in a latitude conſiderably to the ſouthward, and in a climate far more favourable than any through which it runs towards its entrance into the gulph that bears the ſame name. There the north-eaſterly winds from the coaſt of Labradore and frozen regions of the North, which occaſion the ſeverity of the cold at Halifax and Quebec, have no influence. Nor are we to eſtimate the

ſtate

ſtate of the atmoſphere by what is experienced in the ſame latitude in the province of Maine, or any where between the river St. Croix and Boſton, for it is infinitely colder on the eaſtern coaſt, where the winter is of longer duration than in the interior, and the ſummer not near ſo warm. In fact, the winter at Detroit is very little, if at all, ſeverer than in Pennſylvania or Maryland. Theſe obſervations are made on a ſuppoſition that a cold climate is generally underſtood to be inſupportable by negroes. The propoſition, however, which has been taken for granted, may perhaps on examination be overturned. The ſtructure of the body of man, as well as of his mind, is the ſubject of habit; but the habits of the former yield more readily to change than thoſe of the latter. It is proved by experience, that negroes can endure the ſeverity of a cold climate as well as white people, if equally well cloathed. The winter in the ſtates of Pennſylvania, the Jerſeys, and New York, is known to be very

ſharp, and in thoſe countries negroes are mixed with the white people as labourers, a great many of them being employed in farming and the moſt laborious occupations. In Long Iſland, negroes, and thoſe chiefly ſlaves, compoſe a half of the peaſantry *. If in theſe places, where they are in general more expoſed than the white people, they can ſupport the inclemency of the climate, we may fairly conclude that they can exiſt and thrive in every region inhabited by white people. Whether it be equally pleaſing, is another queſtion. It may be well imagined, that at firſt the pinching of froſt will not be agreeable to fibres accuſtomed to the full flow of blood produced by the rarefaction of the torrid zone; but time, the nurſe of habit, corrects this acuteneſs of ſenſation, and accommodates corporeal ſenſibility to the influence of

* The Governor of Nova Scotia ſupplies the argument with the teſtimony of his experience, in the caſes of the black loyaliſts and other negroes removed from a warm climate to that of Halifax. Vide his letter to the Duke of Portland, dated Halifax, 29th October, 1796.—*Votes of Aſſembly*, 1801.

climate.

climate. In ſome parts of Nova Scotia there are families of negroes ſettled, enjoying, as farmers, comforts equal to thoſe of their white neighbours, and ſome of them poſſeſs moderate properties. But whatever the force of this opinion in its full extent, at leaſt the climate of Upper Canada was ſufficiently temperate for the plan propoſed. After a certain time, had any of the Maroons been diſſatisfied with their ſituation, they might themſelves have removed to the ſouthward, whither they would probably have been enticed by the Americans. Suppoſing they had taken a ſouthern route, the navigation of the Wabaſh or Miamis rivers would have led them into Kentucky, or to other parts of the Ohio, where they would have had ſummer enough and plenty of work, in a country improving in cultivation and increaſing in population. Parties of them would probably have ſettled in different ſpots of that region of America, and in a few years the name of Maroon would have been loſt in the general character of the free negro of America.

Although

Although this plan for removing the Maroons to Upper Canada was generally approved, it was not formally adopted by the legiſlature, but twenty-five thouſand pounds were voted for the purpoſe of carrying the tranſportation of them into execution; and a law was paſſed making their return, and harbouring them, death without benefit of clergy. Colonel Quarrell, who had ſuggeſted the Canada plan, was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor commiſſary-general to accompany them, to provide and procure them ſuitable clothing and maintenance during their confinement on ſhipboard, and for a reaſonable time after they were landed in any other country; and he was authorized and required to cauſe the Maroons to be landed *in any part or parts of North America*, due permiſſion being firſt obtained; and, being landed, to provide by purchaſe ſuch a quantity of land as might be adequate for their habitations, and might afford them by its cultivation the means of ſupporting themſelves and their families;

and

and to ſupply them with ſuch tools and implements as might be neceſſary to enable them to cultivate the lands purchaſed for them.

As there were at this time ſome tranſports in the harbour bound to Europe, it was thought a good opportunity of engaging them to land the Maroons in America. Proper preparations being made for the paſſage, a quantity of ſuitable cloth, linen, and other articles, laid in to be made up while at ſea, and the agent for the tranſports entruſted with the care of proviſions, the Maroons were diſpoſed of in three ſhips, the Dover, Mary, and Ann, according to the accommodation afforded in each, a due regard being paid to placing families together. The remains of the 96th regiment, from St. Domingo, were embarked as guards, and on the 6th of June, 1796, the tranſports ſailed from Port Royal Harbour, in company with a large fleet bound to Europe, under convoy of his Majeſty's ſhip Africa, Captain Home, with the Reaſonable, Iphigenia, and Scorpion.

pion. On leaving Jamaica, the commiſſary-general was directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to proceed to Halifax, and to remain there till his Majeſty's pleaſure was made known to him, which, on a moderate calculation, from the date of the diſpatches ſent home on the ſubject by Lord Balcarres, might be expected about a fortnight after the arrival of the tranſports at that port. The commiſſary-general had a deputy and a ſurgeon appointed to attend the Maroons, and was furniſhed by Lord Balcarres with explanatory letters to Sir John Wentworth, Governor of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward, Commander in Chief of the forces, and Admiral Murray. During the voyage, which was ſix weeks, the Maroons behaved in the moſt orderly manner, and ſhowed the greateſt alacrity in performing every duty required of them. They were ſtationed at the guns. On the paſſage ſeventeen of them died, which was but a ſmall number in compariſon with the mortality on board the Dover among the ſailors and

invalids,

invalids. The commiſſary, having left Jamaica with a perfect confidence of being authorized to put into execution the plan he had ſuggeſted for ſettling the Maroons, and conſidering the port of Halifax as intended only for a place to halt at till his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known, had made every arrangement for carrying it into effect, and that no unneceſſary delay might be occaſioned at Halifax, the warm cloathing for the Maroons had been made up during the paſſage. The cloaths were made in a uniform manner, preſerving only ſuch diſtinctions in thoſe of a few of the officers as was thought proper to ſupport their authority for the welfare of the reſt. On the banks of the American coaſts the tranſports parted with the homeward bound fleet. One of them having ſeparated from the Dover and the other in a fog, arrived on the 21ſt of July in Halifax harbour, where the two others anchored on the 23d. About four miles below the town, the Dover was boarded by a man of war's boat, in which the com-

commiſſary obtained a paſſage, and upon landing, found that an order had been iſſued by His Royal Highneſs the Commander in Chief, to prevent any one being landed from the tranſports. A report ſo unfavourable to the Maroons had preceded them, that the inhabitants had expreſſed the greateſt fear of their being permitted to come on ſhore. The commiſſary, having waited on the Admiral in town, and on the Prince and the Governor at their houſes in the country, and delivered his letters; and having aſſured them of the orderly conduct of the Maroons ſince their embarkation, thought it proper to write ſome account of them, in order to give ſuch aſſurances as would remove all apprehenſion of the dangers with which the inhabitants had been alarmed. This ſtatement being communicated to His Royal Highneſs, and circulated among the principal perſons of the place, had its deſired effect.

The curioſity of the Prince being greatly excited to ſee a body of people who had

made ſuch an oppoſition to a regular military force, and who had for months protracted a war againſt ſo great a ſuperiority, deſired the commiſſary to attend him on board the tranſports. The Maroons were prepared for the occaſion, and being dreſſed in their new cloathing, made a very handſome appearance. His Royal Highneſs, on going into the Dover, found the detachment of the 96th regiment drawn up on the after-part of the quarter-deck, their arms reſted, and muſic playing; the Maroon men in a uniform dreſs in lines on each ſide the whole length of the ſhip, and the women and children forward, dreſſed clean and neat. The Prince was no leſs ſurpriſed with the novelty of the ſight and the decent and orderly appearance preſented by the Maroons, than pleaſed with the uniformity and propriety of their dreſs. Accuſtomed to view lines of men with a very diſcriminating eye, the juſt proportion of their limbs, their height, and their neatneſs, did not eſcape the notice of His Royal Highneſs. He remarked

that they poſſeſſed in theſe an excellence not obſervable in the other claſſes of negroes he had ſeen, and ſaid he thought them well adapted to military ſervice. He ſpoke to ſome of the captains, who, in addreſſing him, called him *Maſſa Prince*, and *Maſſa King's Son*. His Royal Highneſs, though acquainted with the circumſtances under which they were, and that Halifax was only a place of temporary reſidence, could not view ſuch ſtrength and vigour in a ſtate of inactivity, without a wiſh to have them uſefully employed. At this time the French ſquadron under Richery was off the coaſt to the northward, and had been committing ravages on the fiſhing ſtations of Newfoundland. From the magnitude of his force, it was not unlikely that he ſhould attempt a deſcent at Halifax, where every preparation was making to receive him. The fortifications, however, were not ſufficiently completed ſo as to bid him defiance, and the Prince, in order to accelerate the finiſhing of them, propoſed to permit the landing of the Maroons,

roons provided they would work on the citadel, a very extenſive fortification, intended for the defence of the town, and lately begun to be erected. On the propoſal being communicated to them, they unanimouſly declared that they would work or do any thing for Maſſa Prince, or for Maſſa King, freely and without pay. And here it may be obſerved that it was not only in Nova Scotia that they manifeſted their reverence for the very name of the King; he had ever been a favourite with them in the mountains of Trelawney. Negroes in general have no notions of equality: among themſelves ſome families are held in higher eſtimation than others, and no people pay a greater deference to their ſuperiors than they to their chiefs. When the negroes in St. Domingo were excited to take arms againſt the royaliſts, it was under the idea that the latter were rebelling againſt the will of the king. The teſtimony of loyalty given by the Maroons, could not but be pleaſing to Prince Edward, but his Royal Highneſs would by no means accept of

their ſervices without a compenſation, and they agreed to receive the uſual pay of ſuch labour. It being the height of ſummer, temporary houſes were made of boards, and others hired for them near the town and citadel; ſome tents were pitched, and the Governor allotted the barns of his farm near the place for the ſame purpoſe. The whole body was accordingly landed and marched to their quarters. Providing for them in this ſituation was extremely expenſive, every neceſſary article of life increaſing in value. In a ſhort time this dreadful banditti were conſidered as a great acquiſition to the country. The little money they brought with them, and what they acquired by their labours, was ſpent in the town, whence alſo the neceſſary ſupplies for immediate uſe were furniſhed, ſo that intelligence of their re-embarkation would now have been moſt unwelcome. The lines of the citadel were raiſed with rapidity, and the Maroon-baſtion, completed under the direction of Prince Edward, will long remain

remain a monument of the active induſtry of the people whoſe name it bears. Pleaſed with the conduct and utility of the Maroons, and the advantages already flowing from their ſhort reſidence, the governor of the province haſtened to acquaint his Majeſty's miniſters with the happy iſſue of their landing, and in a letter to the Duke of Portland repreſented the pleaſure expreſſed by the Maroons, and their deſire of being ſettled in the country. The kindneſs with which they were received, their removal from the tranſports in which they had been long confined, and the pleaſant ſtate of the weather at the time they arrived, were juſt grounds for the ſatisfaction they expreſſed, and a general joy was diffuſed both among them and the inhabitants on the arrival of the diſpatches relative to them from the Duke of Portland, which were received by the Governor nearly about the time they were expected. In theſe diſpatches his Grace recommended the Maroons to the care and protection of the Governor, and gave in-

ſtructions for their being ſettled in the province of Nova Scotia, provided it could be done without injury to the colony *. The liberal intentions of Jamaica teſtified in the commiſſary-general's commiſſion, where the vote of twenty-five thouſand pounds was recited, was generally conſidered with great ſatisfaction, and the Governor, highly pleaſed with the charge, undertook to make ſuch arrangements for the ſettlement of the Maroons as he judged proper, to which the commiſſary, on the communication of the Duke of Portland's letter, thought himſelf under the neceſſity of implicitly ſubmitting.

At this juncture the commiſſary was attacked by a fever, for the third time ſince he left Jamaica, and was confined to his bed in ſo dangerous a ſtate, that two of his phyſicians adviſed him to prepare for a ſerious iſſue of his diſorder. In this ſituation being urgently required by his

* Votes of the Aſſembly.

deputy as well as by the Governor, his intended ſucceſſors in the ſuperintendency of the Maroon ſettlement, and anxious that no impediment might ariſe in the outſet of it, he was induced to draw bills of exchange on the correſpondents of the Receiver-General of Jamaica in London, in favour of a houſe recommended by the Governor, for ſix thouſand pounds ſterling, as a depoſit fund for intended purchaſes, and alſo to ſend an order for certain ſtores pointed out by his Excellency; arrangements which he informed the commiſſary it was incumbent on his Excellency to report to his Grace the Duke of Portland *. The commiſſary's diſorder terminated more favourably than was expected, and when he was able to attend to buſineſs, the Governor pointed out to him ſome land and houſes at a place called Preſton, about five miles from Halifax, on the oppoſite ſide of the harbour, as the moſt eligible for a purchaſe, for a conſiderable

* Votes of the Aſſembly.

part of which he had previoufly agreed. Although the meafures now adopted overturned his original plan, and the fettling the Maroons in a body feemed not to him to promife the fpeedieft relief to Jamaica, he thought it incumbent upon him to forward the Governor's views, on the principles he had embraced under the fanction received from England. But a credit of ten thoufand pounds fterling brought with him out of the vote of twenty-five thoufand, being foon exhaufted, he was obliged to apply for more, and he at the fame time very freely communicated to the Affembly of Jamaica his fentiments refpecting the proceedings with the Maroons, ftating the impolicy of keeping them in a body, and predicting that the ifland would not be foon releafed from the burden of fupporting them. When the commiffary recovered fufficiently to vifit the purchafed lands, he found them in general extremely barren, and learned that the fituation had been before occupied and deferted by two fuc-

ſucceſſive bodies of people; the firſt, diſbanded ſoldiers, the other, the black loyaliſts of America, ſlaves who had abandoned their maſters in the conteſt with Great Britain, and who at the concluſion of the war had been allowed to ſettle there. Theſe had been induced by the agents of the Sierra Leone company to quit ſo unprofitable a ſituation and embark for the ſettlement in Africa. Nor did the vicinity of Halifax, which was ſtated as an advantage, appear deſirable to the commiſſary, who thought it an inducement to the Maroons to undertake employments offered by the town, and to neglect the improvement of their lands.

There was, indeed, one plan which, had the commiſſary been able or empowered to execute, might have proved highly beneficial to the iſland of Jamaica, and put it in the power of the Maroons themſelves to have defrayed by their labour every expence already incurred for them, or neceſſary in future to their proſperity; and

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to this plan the ſituation of Preſton would have been highly favourable. It is well known to thoſe who are acquainted with Nova Scotia, that all goods from the Bay of Fundy, or Baſon of Minas, are conveyed to Halifax, by veſſels in a navigation hazardous, expenſive, and uncertain, round Cape Sable at the extremity of the peninſula, a paſſage generally taking ten days or a fortnight, and infinitely more dangerous than that from Halifax to the Thames. There are ſmall lakes in the neighbourhood of Preſton communicating with each other, and ultimately with the river Schubennaccadie, which falls into the Baſon of Minas. One lake, called Dartmouth lake, from its ſituation near that place, is entirely unconnected with the others, and throws out a little river, which, after a courſe of about half a mile, runs into a cove in Halifax harbour. The diſtance between the lake of Dartmouth and the neareſt of the others, is not more than twenty chain, and the interjacent neck of land is level. A junction might

have been eaſily formed, and by cutting the ground, ſome chains about the connecting iſſues of the lakes lower down, and in no place would it have been neceſſary to have ſunk the canals more than eleven feet, an inland navigation would have been opened, by which, without riſk, and in one day, all the commodities ſent from the Baſon of Minas and Bay of Fundy, might be conveyed to Halifax. The runs of land adjoining the lakes, neceſſary for the execution of this project, might at the time have been purchaſed for a very moderate ſum, and the Maroons would have completed the work in the courſe of one ſummer. The whole length of the ground to be cut through does not exceed a mile and a half, but it would have been requiſite near the harbour to have made locks for a deſcent of ſixty-two feet. Some notion may be formed of the ineſtimable advantages of this navigation by contraſting the different regions of Nova Scotia. The fertility of the land on the weſt ſide towards the Bay of Fundy and the

the Bafon of Minas is very great. Grain of every kind is abundant and cheap: butter, cheefe, cyder, and fimilar articles, are made in large quantities. Immenfe orchards are covered with trees, particularly the apple, bending to the earth with their fruit. To this may be added, that no part of the world affords good meat at a cheaper rate, the price of beef being two-pence a pound, Halifax currency. On the contrary, near the capital, and on the fide of the peninfula lying on the Atlantic, plenty is unknown, or exotic. Nature has doomed thefe regions to gloomy fogs and poverty of foil. In the neighbourhood of Halifax, there are fome farms that yield chaffy oats, and produce potatoes, clover, and excellent hay, but the land fcarcely pays for the labour of removing the ftones with which it is covered, and the expence of cultivation. The return of Indian corn is not enough to repay the fowing of it. Orchards are unknown: no fruit trees grow on this fide, except here and there a ftunted cherry, plumb, or apple, when

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it is defended on all ſides, and the whole height of the tree, by houſes or high boarded ſcreens, from the ſevere blaſts of the wind. To open, then, ſo ſpeedy a communication with the more favoured regions of the weſt, could not but be of the greateſt importance to the country; and the adventurers, whoever they may be, that ſhall effect that communication, cannot fail to be amply repaid. The labour, with the purchaſe of lands, and conſequently the great capital required, are the obſtacles that preſent themſelves, but theſe are not inſurmountable, and it is not unlikely that in time ſome adventuring capitaliſts will execute the plan. The ſums voted by Jamaica for the eſtabliſhment of the Maroons would have amply ſufficed to accompliſh it, and from the returns it would have produced, not only the Maroon expences and their ſettlement, either in one body or by diſperſion in ſeparate families, would have been covered, but a perpetual fund eſtabliſhed at the diſpoſal of the iſland. The project, however, would have

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required a consideration that must have consumed some time, and as the government of Nova Scotia had kindly received the Maroons, and interposed in their affairs, the commissary, apprehensive of counteracting the plans of the Governor, thought it his duty to give them every assistance in his power.

The township of Preston having been determined upon by the Governor for the settlement of the Maroons, the old houses on the spot were to be repaired, and new ones built for their accommodation. It was then thought proper to withdraw them from the works at Halifax, in order to prepare for their accommodation during the winter: in September they began to remove in small parties to their new habitations, and early in the month of October all had taken possession of the property purchased for them *. Disputes had arisen among

* It was about this time that on an alarm occasioned by Richery's squadron, the Governor proposed to embody them

among them for the priority of removal and the choice of habitations, which were not eaſily ſettled, and many of them became and continued a long time refractory. The cold weather ſetting in before the arrival of the cloathing and other ſtores which had been ordered from England, a further great expence was neceſſarily incurred in furniſhing them from Halifax at an exorbitant price. The Maroons were viſited by the Governor at their new ſettlement, and many of them expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction at their ſituation. His Excellency conceiving the beſt means of advancing their civilization was immediate inſtruction in the Chriſtian religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic, appointed for theſe important duties a chaplain and teacher of the church of England, with an

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them as a corps of militia. He beſtowed ſeveral commiſſions on them: Montague and Johnſon, he made colonels; Jarrat and Bailey, majors; to ſome he gave companies, and to others lieutenancies, which highly gratified their vanity.

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affiſtant, to reſide among them, to perform public worſhip regularly, and to teach all thoſe that were capable. For this eſtabliſhment he allotted the ſum of two hundred and fifty pounds ſterling a-year, beſides a glebe-houſe and land on the eſtate. The winter, which generally laſts ſeven months of the year in Nova Scotia, being neceſſarily a time of but little labour, a conſtant attendance at the pariſh church on Sunday was all that was required of the Maroons, and the younger ones were made to attend the ſchool. To theſe due attention was paid by the ſchoolmaſter, and they made as great a progreſs as could be expected in the things they were taught. Had their inſtruction in religion been alſo committed to the care of this maſter, they would probably have reaped much benefit; but as he was a diſſenter from the eſtabliſhed church, being of the Sandimanian ſect, his religious tenets were deemed an inſurmountable obſtacle to his being entruſted to inculcate the principles of Chriſtianity. He had, if I am rightly informed,

informed, been a missionary among the Iroquois Indians, or Six Nations, with whom he had met but little success: with young people, such as the Maroons, had the objections to his tenets been removed, he had talents that might have promised a prosperous issue to his zeal and attention. Little effect, however, could be reasonably hoped from weekly sermons on doctrines of faith, delivered to old and young promiscuously, in a language not understood. It would be as rational to put Homer into the hands of a child beginning to learn Greek. Once, coming out of church, a gentleman, who had attended the service, asked one of the captains, shivering with cold, if he knew what the clergyman had said. "Me sabby?" or, "How should I know?" was the answer. He had been smoking his pipe with some, while others were asleep. The gentleman repeating his question to Montague the chief, who was induced by his vanity to wish not to appear ignorant, the old man replied that he knew very well. "Massa

parſon ſay, no mus tief, no mus meddle wid ſomebody wife, no mus quarrel; mus ſet down ſoftly." This he conceived muſt be implied in ſo long a talk: but the whole tendency of the ſermon was to convince the Maroons that they were happy, and to excite their gratitude to the people of Jamaica for ſending them to Nova Scotia; and it contained panegyrics on the Prince, the Commiſſary-general, and the Governor, their beſt friend. The inefficacy of this mode, however obvious, never occurred to the preacher; but in juſtice to the Governor it muſt not be omitted, that he was ſolicitous that the Maroons ſhould be made to comprehend the benevolent and pure principles of Chriſtianity; and at his requeſt they were convened by the commiſſary himſelf, who undertook to explain to them the Governor's wiſhes, in a language they better underſtood. The moſt intelligent of the men being brought forward in a room at the commiſſary's houſe, and as many more as could be introduced attending, it was obſerved to them that they

they had left a country in which religion was not so fully attended to as it ought, where they had been kept in a state of barbarous ignorance, and in habits repugnant to the order and decency necessary to be maintained in the situation they now held among a people who deemed themselves bound by moral rules and obligations, which were derived from the law of God alone, and enforced by the laws of the country, the breach of them being followed by punishment: and that although some might wickedly transgress these laws without detection in this life, those would be called to a severe account in another world, into which they would pass from this, and where mankind would be happy or miserable according to their observance or neglect of those laws. The Governor being particularly desirous that marriage should be established among them, they were told that those who wished to enjoy the comfort and society of a wife should be duly married according to the ceremonies of the church, without which no

man was considered as lawfully married, nor could his property descend to his children. On this Captain Smith said; "But, Massa, den we must take swear:" that is, enter into an oath. "Yes, you must swear to love and support your wife, to keep her in sickness and in health, to afford her and her children all the comforts you can, to be faithful and true to her, as long as you both live, and to forsake all others but her."—"Dat white people fashion," said one who had two wives, "dat no do for we poor Maroon:" and then he argued, as I before mentioned *, that as God and Christ were good, they could not require that he should forsake either of his wives, or any of his children. They were desired to confer upon the subject, and when they had made up their minds to give their answer. They however promptly adopted an expedient to evade the business. "Massa," said one of them, "what you say we believe very good, but

* Vol. I. p. 113.

we no want to bring bad curſe upon weſelves, for Gar A'mighty no love ugly, (that is wickedneſs,) and if we do ſometing for curſe us, he will puniſh us. We no mind being married without ſwear, but if you pleaſe you may make the women take ſwear; we men can't do ſo." The women were then called in, and talked to much as the men had been. None of the wives could be perſuaded to reſign her right to her huſband, and the girls were ſo riotous and noiſy in their objection to taking any *ſwear*, declaring without qualification they would not, that they were ſent out of the room to confer, and went off in an uproar, clamouring at the men for making ſuch a propoſal. On their conference the objections became ſtronger, and they retired, making inſolent obſervations on the latitude in which ſome of the greateſt characters known to them had indulged. The failure of the attempt to convert the Maroons is not to be wondered at. Their habits would naturally preſerve their power over them while they

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lived together as a diſtinct body of people. Had the different families been induced to eſtabliſh themſelves among the remote ſettlers in diſtricts where there were churches, clergymen, and ſchools, they would in time have been influenced by the example of their neighbours, and though the older ones might never have been prevailed upon to part with their wives, or conſent to ſtigmatize any of their children, the younger ones would have reaped the advantages of inſtruction, and would have conformed through principle as other negro ſettlers had done. Separated from the refractory ſpirits that kept up among them an oppoſition to induſtry, and provided by the bounty of the iſland of Jamaica with the means of ſettling their families, they could not have failed to have become induſtrious and happy. The commiſſary-general, conceiving that diſperſing the Maroons very extenſively was the only means of diſpoſing of them properly, and wiſhing to ſpread them in ſmall ſettlements even as far as New Brunſwick, had ſug-

geſted the plan, and had warmly urged that the different unoccupied barracks might be allowed for the Maroons during the winter of 1796-7, to facilitate it early in the ſpring; but objections being ſtarted to the propoſal, he ſubmitted, and it was laid aſide. Diſſatisfied with the meaſures now purſued by the Governor, and the colonizing of a Maroon body in the neighbourhood of Halifax, the commiſſary-general, finding his own plan fruſtrated, and conceiving that he was conſidered merely as an agent to furniſh money, and to act under the Governor's direction, expreſſed ſome impatience to quit the colony.

Meanwhile, the Houſe of Aſſembly of Jamaica took the ſtate of the Maroon buſineſs into conſideration, and, having given due attention to the accounts received from the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia and from the commiſſary-general, by which it appeared, that it was his Majeſty's pleaſure that every thing

 ſhould

ſhould be done for the comfort of the Maroons; that this had been effected in the purchaſe of an eſtate near Halifax with comfortable buildings; that the Maroons were pleaſed and deſirous to ſettle in that country; that a licence of occupation had been granted for ſixteen or ſeventeen thouſand acres of land adjoining the eſtate ſo purchaſed; and that the commiſſary-general, by the particular recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, had ordered from London various articles to a very conſiderable amount for the ſupport and accommodation of the Maroons, reſolved, that all farther ſupport ſhould be limited to the 22d of July, 1798: that the Maroons ſhould be comfortably ſubſiſted by the iſland of Jamaica to the 22d of July, 1797; and that for the year next enſuing, a ſum not exceeding ten pounds ſterling ſhould be allowed for the ſupport of each man, woman, and child; the Aſſembly being fully convinced from the tenor of the letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia to the commiſ-

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ſary-general, that theſe people, poſſeſſing lands, and provided with implements of huſbandry, and ſeeds for planting, and enjoying moreover the advantages of fiſhing and fowling, might then ſupply their own wants with the greateſt facility. They concluded with reſolving, that the lands and buildings ſhould be veſted in his Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, for the uſe and benefit of the Maroons, in ſuch manner as he ſhould pleaſe to direct *. Theſe reſolutions, with directions to execute the conveyance to the crown, were tranſmitted to the commiſſary-general, who, on the 3d of April, communicated his diſpatches to the Lieutenant-Governor of the province.

* Votes of the Houſe of Aſſembly of Jamaica.

LETTER XV.

Severity of the Winter.—Apprehensions of Famine.—Prince Edward sends a Supply to the Maroons.—Commissary-General goes to New-York to procure Provisions. Proposals for indenting the Maroons.—Discontent in the Country, and among the Maroons.—The Latter refuse to Labour.—The Care of them given to the Schoolmaster.—Removal of some of their Families to Boydville.—They return to Work.—The Commissary surrenders the whole Charge of the Maroons to the Governor of the Province.—Captain Howe made Superintendant.—The Commissary detained in Nova Scotia.—Jamaica deemed, by the Duke of Portland and the Governor of Nova Scotia, liable to all Expences incurred for the Maroons.—Resolutions of the Assembly on the Subject.—Lord Balcarres refuses to transmit them.—Contradictory Accounts of the Situation of the Maroons.—They relapse into Idleness.—Small Progress of their Conversion to Christianity.—Their Farewell Address to the Commissary.—Perplexing Situation of the Government of Nova Scotia.—Letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia to the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica.—Inquiry into the State of the Maroon Affairs by the House of Assembly of Jamaica.—Misunderstanding.—State of the Question.—Definitive Resolution of the Assembly.—Opinion of a Committee of the House respecting the Services of the Commissary-General.—Vote of the House in consequence.

THE winter proved unusually severe and long. From the time that the Maroons quitted

quitted the public works to the ſetting in of the cold weather, which was early, it had been barely poſſible to procure fuel enough for a moderate winter, and the conſequence was, that the people burned, not only what had been laid in, but alſo all their paſture-fencing *. Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, the Maroons became very healthy; for previouſly they had been ſickly, owing to their long confinement on ſhip-board, and the ſudden change of diet and water, in conſequence of which many had died. In the month of December a ſeaſonable ſupply of cloathing and ſtores arrived according to the order that had been ſent to London; but unfortunately the potatoes, which had been chiefly depended upon for the food of the winter, and which had been carefully laid up in cellars deemed froſt-proof, were frozen and deſtroyed. This, though a very unuſual

* No hedges will grow in Nova Scotia; where fences are made of fallen trees, or pieces of wood, the ends of which meet in angles one over another.

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circumſtance, was general, and, the price of flour increaſing, threatened Halifax not merely with a ſcarcity, but famine. In this dilemma Prince Edward, at the requeſt of the Governor, generouſly ſent the Maroons a conſiderable ſupply from the public magazines; but even this proving very inſufficient, the commiſſary reſolved to make a voyage to New York in order to purchaſe a quantity of flour. At this time it ſeems that pains had been taken to render the Maroons diſſatisfied; they complained of the cold, and declared that the country would not do for them. The commiſſary's deputy was charged with fomenting theſe diſcontents; but on being ſpoken to on the ſubject by the commiſſary, who pointed out their reſpective duties, and the guilt of ſwerving from them, as well as the injury that would accrue to the iſland of Jamaica, he appeared to feel ſo much, that neither the commiſſary nor the Governor ſeemed to entertain any apprehenſions of his future conduct. The Maroons being houſed and plentifully provided for a time, the commiſ-

ſary put his reſolution in execution, and on the 23d of February ſailed for New York; and having engaged a ſufficient quantity of flour and other proviſions at a moderate price, returned, after a month's abſence, to Halifax. The ſupply proved a ſeaſonable relief, and prevented much real diſtreſs.

Propoſals had been made by ſeveral of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia for engaging Maroons upon indentures, and otherwiſe ſettling them. Theſe, when made to the commiſſary, were always referred by him to the Governor. The application was generally for the choice of the fineſt fellows, regardleſs of the wives and children. The Maroons themſelves ſmiled at the propoſals, ſaid they were free, and that from the Governor's promiſe in anſwer to their requeſt, they depended on being removed to a warmer climate. This promiſe they aſſumed from a letter written to them by the Governor, in which he ſays: "I will, on my part, write by the packet, and

and reprefent the requefts of the Maroons for the King's confideration: on the other part, you, and each of you, are to continue to ufe your beft endeavours to cultivate and improve the buildings and eftate whereon you now refide and occupy: and faithfully obey and execute my orders and directions in all things." This could be no promife of removal on the part of the Governor, but it certainly kept alive their wifh of going to a warm country, and confirmed the hope of it. Before the winter elapfed, the general joy that had prevailed on the determination of fettling the Maroons in Nova Scotia, yielded to difcontent on the part of the new fettlers, and apprehenfions of their proving an incumbrance on the part of the inhabitants: and the refolutions of the Houfe of Affembly of Jamaica, now prefented by the commiffary to the governor of the province, clouded the happy profpects which had opened on the arrival of the Duke of Portland's difpatches. Many of the inhabitants, and particularly fome

members of the Aſſembly of Nova Scotia, diſappointed in engaging Maroons upon indentures, and other propoſals for ſettling them, began to be clamorous, and ſent a meſſage to the Governor to inquire what was to be done with them, ſhould the iſland of Jamaica diſcontinue their ſupply; and whether they were to be left a burden on the province, or not. A committee of the House called for and examined the commiſſary-general, who obſerved to them, that the iſland had furniſhed as much property for the Maroons as would prevent an equal number of other people in Nova Scotia from being conſidered as paupers, and referred them to the Governor, who, on his part, declared that he would anſwer for removing all apprehenſions, and become himſelf a pledge and ſecurity for the iſland of Jamaica continuing for them an ample ſupport *. This declaration was made more than two months after the reſolutions of the Houſe had been com-

* Votes of the Houſe of Aſſembly.

municated to the Governor, and about a month previous to the commiſſary's total ſurrender of the charge.

The ground continuing bound by the froſt long in the month of May, the ſpring was far advanced before any labour could be required of the Maroons; and when the opening of the ſoil permitted it, they diſcovered the greateſt reluctance to begin working, and it was evident that ſtrong prejudices had exiſted in their minds againſt ſettling in Nova Scotia. The ground of their conduct was ſaid to be a hope that had been inſtilled into their minds, of a removal to a more congenial climate, and particularly of being embodied as ſoldiers for the Cape of Good Hope and India, accompanied by their women and children. Some of them were extremely angry with a few who planted potatoes, and even proceeded to acts of violence againſt them; while others, well diſpoſed, complained to the commiſſary that working had been dif-

discouraged by his deputy *. This, as well as other parts of his conduct respecting the Governor, was considered by the latter as an objection to his being continued in the charge of the Maroon concerns, and the commissary thought it indispensable to show his resentment by breaking off all communication with him; and, deeming decisive measures in opposition to the prejudices of the Maroons necessary, he placed them under the immediate care of the schoolmaster appointed by the Governor, and removed some of the families to a settlement called Boydville, about four miles above the upper bason of the harbour of Halifax, where, in spite of the threats of those left at Preston, they immediately

* This gentleman afterwards defended himself at large on oath before the House of Assembly in Jamaica, denying or justifying the charges that were made against him by the Governor of Nova Scotia: but as it is no part of my plan to enter into the disputes that arose respecting the Maroon establishment, but only to state the facts, I think it enough to add here, that the Assembly of Jamaica fully acquitted him, and also granted him a remuneration for his services.—*Votes of the Assembly*, 1798.

diſplayed great alacrity in working for themſelves. Orders were left with Mr. Chamberlain, the perſon under whoſe inſpection the Maroons were placed, that if they did not work they ſhould not be fed: ſubmiſſion was the conſequence, and early in June Mr. Chamberlain had a hundred and fifty at work. On the 22d of July 1797, the commiſſary ſurrendered the charge entirely to the Governor of the province, and delivered up the property of the iſland of Jamaica to Captain Howe, a gentleman ſent by his Excellency to receive it, and in whoſe hands the ſuperintendency was now placed. There only remained to comply with the reſolutions of the Aſſembly of Jamaica, to make a legal conveyance of the property to the Crown; and inſtructions were given for preparing the deed: but many objections occurred in the mode of wording it, and a conſiderable time elapſed before it was executed. It happened that the commiſſary, now deſirous of returning to Jamaica, was detained by another cauſe in Halifax. He had, at

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different periods, drawn bills on the correspondents in London of the receiver-general of the island of Jamaica in consequence of the credit voted by the Assembly, which bills returned protested, although it appeared, by the acknowledgment of the receiver's correspondents, that they actually had in their hands, at the time of protesting, funds to a large amount. It was rather extraordinary, that the whole vote of twenty-five thousand pounds for the Maroon concern was not lodged and ready, particularly as the commissary had given a statement of the whole vote being necessary to pursue the plans adopted in Nova Scotia, and had required adequate funds to be lodged to provide for his bills. It appeared, however, that, at least, fourteen thousand five hundred pounds sterling were lodged, and the Assembly expressed their opinion, that so far the bills should have been honoured by the receiver-general. Why they were not honoured, was never thoroughly explained, though those acquainted with the use of money

probably underſtand; but the circumſtances gave riſe to an invidious reflexion among the friends of thoſe who proteſted the bills. They allowed the commiſſary ample credit for his ſervices, for which they were of opinion he ought to have received a very large remuneration, " but," ſaid they, " it is to be regretted, that the government of Jamaica did not ſend with the Maroons a man *competent in buſineſs.*" The plain meaning of which is, that he ought not to have drawn for the money voted, but manœuvered his purchaſes to advantage, and on credit. A competent buſineſs-man would perhaps have benefited himſelf and his friends in the charge committed to him: but in this art the commiſſary was certainly incompetent. To the petty wiles of mercantile tranſactions he was not a ſtranger, but he was ſuperior to them, and could not diſcern the intereſt and honour of a reſpectable government in the low craft of a little man of buſineſs. The truſt repoſed in the commiſſary was of magnitude; it involved the honour as well

as the intereſt of his country, and the fate of more than five hundred human creatures. His object therefore was a ſpeedy and honourable diſcharge of his truſt: he conſidered that what was voted by the iſland of Jamaica was actually meant to be paid, and feeling that as a proprietor, and as a member of the legiſlature, he comprehended the intereſt of his country fully as well as if he had been educated in a counting-houſe, or apprenticed to an attorney, he choſe to act a part which had the ſupport of his own underſtanding, and which afterwards received the approbation of the iſland, expreſſed in a vote of their Aſſembly. However, the conſequence of the return of the bills was, that the perſons in whoſe favour they were drawn thought the detention of the commiſſary in Nova Scotia neceſſary to their ſecurity. Freſh bills were drawn, of which ſome met a ſimilar fate; and it was not till late in the month of April that the commiſſary, giving ſecurity for the remaining unhonoured bills, was able to leave Halifax, where he had

remained upwards of nine months after the relinquiſhing of his truſt, a ſpectator of the ſtate of the Maroon ſettlement.

Meanwhile the Governor of the province, ſenſible of the inadequacy of the ſums voted by the Houſe of Aſſembly of Jamaica to the ſupport of the Maroon eſtabliſhment, tranſmitted an account of the reſolutions he had received, to the Duke of Portland, repreſenting that a larger ſum would be indiſpenſably neceſſary, and entreating his Grace's inſtructions. He afterwards wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, declaring that he could not accede to the limitation reſolved upon, as he was certain it was inadequate; adding, that it was impoſſible to make any judicious eſtimate for the ſervice. The Duke of Portland was of opinion, that the iſland of Jamaica was bound, conformably to the intentions originally expreſſed by its legiſlature, to defray all the expence that ſhould be incurred on account of the Maroons, till they could

ſubſiſt themſelves; and this opinion he explicitly ſtated to the two Governors. Theſe letters were laid before the Houſe, and referred to a committee, who having conſidered them, made the following report:

"That no reſolution or proceeding of the legiſlature authorizes the opinion entertained, that this iſland intended to pledge itſelf to provide a permanent ſupport for the rebellious Maroons of Trelawney-Town, in Nova Scotia, or elſewhere:

"That, as the Maroons were ſent to Halifax, to wait his Majeſty's pleaſure with reſpect to their future deſtination, and the choice of Nova Scotia, as a place of ſettlement for them, was not the meaſure of the legiſlature of Jamaica (as ſtated in Sir John Wentworth's receipt to Mr. Quarrell, dated the 11th September, 1797), this country ought not to be charged with the extraordinary expence, incurred by the difficulty of eſtabliſhing them in that ſituation:

" That the benevolent intentions of this iſland have been evinced, by the liberal proviſion made for the ſupport of the Maroons at the time of their embarkation, and afterwards; which, in the opinion of the committee, was amply adequate to fulfil the engagement of the legiſlature, to maintain them at the public expence of this iſland for a reaſonable time after their arrival at the place of their deſtination:

" The firſt proviſion made by this Houſe for the rebellious Maroons, was a grant of the 26th April, 1796, of twenty-five thouſand pounds currency; a further requiſition having been made on the ſame account, another grant of ten thouſand pounds currency was voted on the 19th December, 1796, when the houſe thought it expedient to fix a period beyond which the iſland would not be bound to ſupport theſe people in their ſettlement at Nova Scotia:

" That

" That, application having been made by W. D. Quarrell, Esquire, and by Sir John Wentworth, in his letter of the 4th August, 1797, to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, for an additional aid, the sum of six thousand pounds has been voted by the House for the same use, making, with the two former grants, the sum of forty-one thousand pounds currency:

" That, when Mr. Quarrell surrendered the charge of the Maroons to Sir John Wentworth, property in lands, houses, stock, furniture, farming utensils, and stores, of the value of ten thousand three hundred and three pounds, fourteen shillings, and ten-pence halfpenny sterling, was delivered by the former to the latter, for the use of the Maroons, over and above the provisions for the expences of maintaining them until the 22d July 1797:

" The committee must here observe, that from all the communications to this house on the subject of these Maroons,

 it

it appears that on their arrival at Halifax, they were not confidered as atrocious delinquents tranfported for having taken up arms againft his Majefty's government, but, on the contrary, as a loyal and favoured people, fent thither for the purpofe of colonization:

" It appears to the committee, from the accounts of William Dawes Quarrell, Efquire, and from the information collected from the Receiver-General of this ifland, that the fum of forty-one thoufand pounds, granted at different times for the comfortable fubfiftence of the Maroons, will not be more than fufficient to defray the expences incurred in that fervice, previous to the 22d July 1797; and that a further grant will be neceffary to make good the intention of the Houfe to allow ten pounds fterling for the year ending on the 22d July 1798, for each man, woman, and child:

" The

" The committee therefore recommend to the Houſe, to grant the further ſum of ſix thouſand pounds ſterling for that purpoſe, and to come to a final reſolution, not to make any other grants for the future ſupport of the Maroons *."

A copy of this report was ſent to Lord Balcarres, accompanied with a requeſt that he would communicate it to the Duke of Portland, the Governor of Nova Scotia, and the commiſſary; and that he would tranſmit to the Governor of Nova Scotia the Act of the Iſland paſſed on the 1ſt of May 1796, baniſhing the Maroons from Jamaica, and making it felony, without benefit of clergy, for them to return, or for any perſon to receive them in the iſland. His Lordſhip thought he could not, conſiſtent with his correſpondence with the Duke of Portland and the Governor of Nova Scotia, tranſmit the reſolutions, and declined it; upon which the Houſe

* Votes of the Aſſembly.

directed

directed the Committee of Correſpondence to tranſmit them to the agent of the iſland, to be communicated by him to the Duke of Portland.

Contradictory accounts were given, and appear on the Journals of the Houſe of Aſſembly, of the ſubſequent diſpoſition and conduct of the Maroons. By ſome it was ſtated that they were ſuffered to dwindle off into their former habits of idleneſs and relapſe into inaction, while the Governor himſelf ſaid that, "Since Captain Howe had ſuperintended, the whole ſettlement wore a new and promiſing appearance, the people were all chearfully at work, there was good humour returning, ſome had ſolicited to be ſettled for life, and they gradually abandoned all the plans fooliſhly and wickedly made, kept up, and cheriſhed among them *." The fact is, that previous to the charge being delivered up by the commiſſary, the people had

* Votes of the Houſe of Aſſembly.

begun to work; but ſoon after, they were ſuffered to relapſe into idleneſs from the anxiety of the new ſuperintendant to be popular among them, and while additional hands were employed in their ſervice, the labour was neglected for amuſements, for cards and cock-fighting, ſtrolling to town, and occaſionally earning ſome money in accidental occupations. The enſuing winter proved almoſt as rigorous as the preceding, the fall of ſnow was the heavieſt ever known in Nova Scotia. While it laſted, the Maroons were houſed, fed, kept warm, and had nothing to do but play cards. The younger ones were inſtructed by Mr. Chamberlain, but the older ones refuſed to attend the weekly ſermon, and made little progreſs in the cultivation of the Chriſtian doctrines, the baptiſm of the children being the only point gained; for neither marriages nor funerals were ſolemnized according to the rules of the church. The cuſtom of a plurality of wives bound only by conſent continued, and when a Maroon died, he was buried with the

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Coromantie ceremonies. The burial ſervice was never performed by the chaplain of the eſtabliſhment. Once, as one of the members of the Aſſembly of the Province was riding out with the commiſſary, he ſaw a large company of them at a little diſtance, and heard them ſinging, on which he commented on their happineſs in their new ſituation. "The ſinging you hear," ſaid the commiſſary, "is no proof, I doubt, of their happineſs." While the member was proving ſinging to be an indication of felicity, they approached the company of Maroons, and found them employed in the interment of one of their friends.

Whatever ſolicitations of being ſettled for life in the province might have been made by them in the ſummer of 1797, certain it is their deſire of a removal was revived during the winter, and afterwards, in the ſpring, clearly expreſſed in a farewell addreſs written to the commiſſary-general when they heard he was about to leave Halifax. This was in the end of

of April 1798. When he had arranged his busineſs, he was apprehenſive that on his departure, the whole body of Maroons, who had always manifeſted not only deference but affection for him, would come to ſee him off, and willing to prevent the inconvenience as well as the reflexions to which it might give riſe, he induſtriouſly avoided all ſhow of preparation, and confided ſolely in Smith, who, at his deſire, miſled the others as to the time of his quitting the country. In conſequence of this, the addreſs which had been previouſly prepared, was not received by the commiſſary till he had arrived at Boſton, in his way to Jamaica. Thither it was diſpatched after him, and is as follows:

" *To* W. D. QUARRELL, ESQ.

" SIR,

" The Maroons hearing you are ſhortly to leave this country, the underſigned, for themſelves, and in behalf of the whole body, beg leave to aſſure you of their unfeigned ſorrow for the neceſſity of your departure

departure from hence; they beg leave to aſſure you, in the ſincereſt terms of gratitude, of the great regard they ſhall ever pay to your memory, for the great care and attention you paid to all their wants and intereſt, during the time you had the management of their affairs; and ſince that time, for the very friendly aſylum they always experienced at your houſe in Dartmouth, which rendered their ſituation as comfortable as could be for people in their unfortunate condition. They humbly beg you will lay before the Houſe of Aſſembly in Jamaica, their preſent diſtreſſes; their contrition and ſorrow for their paſt offences to their much injured country; and acknowledge the juſtice in the ſentence of baniſhment paſſed upon them; but they entreat the Houſe of Aſſembly in the moſt ſuppliant terms, they may be removed to ſome other country more congenial to people of their complexion: the length and ſeverity of the two laſt winters have been ſuch, as almoſt to drive them to deſpair: they appeal to yourſelf and Dr. Oxley,

Oxley, who have been daily witneſſes of their conduct, if they have not, at all times, behaved themſelves in an honeſt, peaceable, and orderly manner, towards every one: it is likewiſe with extreme pain and mortification they ſee immenſe expences incurred, without the leaſt tendency to promote their happineſs or comforts, of which they conceive the government and iſland are not ſufficiently apprized: if the Houſe of Aſſembly will have the goodneſs to take this into conſideration, they beg leave to aſſure them, in the moſt ſolemn manner, they will be perfectly ſatisfied to live upon half the allowance they at preſent enjoy; ſtrenuouſly endeavour to provide for themſelves within as ſhort a time as poſſible; build their own houſes; and put the iſland to as ſmall an expence as poſſible: this they humbly conceive might be accompliſhed (by a ſale of their property here) for leſs money than the iſland may be aware of: if the Houſe of Aſſembly has the goodneſs to take compaſſion on their ſufferings, they fervently

hope

hope you will return to them: having already experienced your kindneſs on all occaſions, it would encourage them to ſurmount every difficulty. God bleſs you, Sir, wiſhing you a ſafe paſſage, and may you live long and happy, is the ſincere prayer of all the Maroons.

(Signed)

COLONEL MONTAGUE JAMES.
COLONEL JOHNSON.
MAJOR J. JARRETT.
CAPTAIN SMITH.
CAPTAIN CHARLES SHAW.
CAPTAIN DUNBAR.
CAPTAIN D. SHAW.
CAPTAIN J. HARDING."

April 20*th*, 1797.

Whatever had been the defaults of theſe people, it was impoſſible now to leave them without feeling an intereſt for their future welfare, and the commiſſary foreſaw with great pain that their ſettlement in Nova Scotia would neither conduce to that,

that, nor be advantageous to the inhabitants; he had fully ſtated his opinion in a letter to a member of the Aſſembly of Jamaica *, but that opinion was leſs agreeable to the Houſe than the reception of the Maroons in Nova Scotia and the flattering accounts they received from the Governor of the Province. When the commiſſary's letter was received, it was not too late to complete the original plan of diſpoſing of the Maroons on the continent of America; but the Aſſembly preferred the ſcheme that was attended with the leaſt trouble, and, ſatisfying their conſciences by voting a proviſion on an ample ſcale, gladly reſigned them to the hands of the Governor of Nova Scotia, who, it muſt be confeſſed, diſplayed a confidence in the plan of keeping them in that province, and ſhowed a readineſs to eſtabliſh them, which it was not incumbent on the iſland of Jamaica to withſtand. The commiſſary, as ſoon as he found him-

* James Wedderburn, Eſq. The letter was made public.

ſelf at liberty to depart, took a paſſage in a veſſel bound to the United States of America, with the hope of expediting his return to Jamaica, there being no likelihood of a ſpeedy opportunity from Halifax. Unfortunately, when he got to New York, a general embargo was laid on at all the ports, in conſequence of the depredations of the French cruizers; and being detained in America while it laſted, it was not till the end of October that he arrived in Jamaica, where he found the Aſſembly ſitting.

In the mean time the Maroons continued refractory, and the Governor of Nova Scotia began, with ſome reaſon, to be very weary of his charge, and heartily to repent the encouragement he had given to their remaining in Nova Scotia. It muſt be allowed his ſituation was painful and perplexing. He had at his doors a large body of people diſſatisfied with the plan laid down for them, and reſolute to oppoſe it by means which they hoped

would ſubvert it, the refuſal to labour; and he anticipated the time when the ſums voted by Jamaica would be exhauſted, of courſe when it would be neceſſary for him to diſpoſe of the Maroons without injury to the province. Perhaps the anxiety that reſulted from this anticipation might have been greatly relieved, if not wholly removed, by reflecting on the nature of man, and the examples afforded by the annals of the very province he governed. Not only the natural indolence of men, but their ſtrongeſt paſſions, are ſubdued by neceſſity. When abſolute want, when ſtarvation is the alternative, work will be reſorted to. The American black loyaliſts were not long ſupported; and to this moment the Germans ſettled at Lunenburgh, in Nova Scotia, are a proof that men will not die of famine when labour will give them plenty. They were fed for a conſiderable time, during which the country about them remained uncultivated, and almoſt in a wild ſtate of nature; but when their ſupport was with-

drawn, the induſtry of the Germans rendered Lunenburgh the beſt ſource of ſupply to Halifax. Had the Maroons, on the reſolution of the iſland of Jamaica to limit the grant for their ſettlement to a certain ſum, been informed that they were in future to provide for themſelves, had the land and the money voted for their ſervice been given up to them, had the eſtabliſhment of a ſuperintendant, chaplain, doctor, ſchoolmaſter, &c. been reformed, an eſtabliſhment never before thought of for ſettlers, nor originally contemplated for theſe, and had they at the ſame time been told that the police of the government would keep a ſtrict watch over their conduct, for which they were amenable to the law, the probable conſequence would have been that, finding they muſt depend upon their own exertions, and ſenſible they were not in a country where they could retire to faſtneſſes, or defy authority, for as a banditti they could not have exiſted, they would with their ſhares of their property have diſperſed themſelves in various

parts of the country, where they would have had the ſame chance of religious improvement that others had, and where the ſchoolmaſters that inſtructed the children of the old inhabitants would have inſtructed theirs. Be this as it may, the Governor of Nova Scotia either did not ſee matters in this light, or thought it incumbent upon him to perſiſt in his endeavours to reclaim the idle colony, to inſtruct them, and, if poſſible, to render them religious, happy, and uſeful. The taſk was ſurely more than Herculean; and however we may admire the deſign, we cannot wonder at its failure.

Now fully convinced that the ſum voted would be inſufficient, the Governor of Nova Scotia, ſoon after the commiſſary's departure from Halifax, wrote another letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, in which he aſſured the legiſlature of the iſland, that the moſt prudent and efficacious means were ſteadily purſued to ſettle the Maroons, and render them com-

petent to their own ſupport, but explicitly declared that they muſt in the mean time be maintained by the iſland of Jamaica, intimating that he could not doubt their providing for an expence which he ſaid was incurred at their requeſt, for their ſafety and relief from the horrid dangers of continual inſurrection of their negroes, which the Maroons would never ceaſe to contrive. He then gave the legiſlature to underſtand, that they ſtill had connexions on many eſtates, who they thought would readily give into their views, if they, or any part of them, could once get into the mountains and faſtneſſes formerly occupied by them. Having ſtated what muſt have been ſo alarming to the people of Jamaica, the Governor proceeded to regret the unjuſtifiable inſidious practices uſed to make the Maroons diſcontented, with which he charged the commiſſary's deputy, and appealed to the teſtimony of the commiſſary himſelf. He expreſſed a belief that the evil effect of theſe practices would be overcome by prudent perſeverance, and that the

the people would in time ſee their error; adding, that many families were at work with perfect good will and induſtry, and very thankful to the iſland. He farther informed the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, that he had been under the neceſſity of drawing bills on the Lords of his Majeſty's Treaſury on account of the iſland, declaring that he confided in the honour and wiſdom of the Government of Jamaica to make a proviſion for them, and for ſuch farther ſupport as might be neceſſary to enable the Maroons to maintain themſelves*.

Early in their ſeſſions, the Houſe of Aſſembly entered upon the conſideration of the Maroon affairs, a number of documents on the ſubject was laid before them, and the arrival of the commiſſary enabled them to inquire minutely into the occurrences that had taken place in Nova Scotia. The Governor of that province had himſelf

* Votes of the Aſſembly, 1798.

referred them to him. Having made a general report of his miſſion to Lord Balcarres, he was more particularly examined by a committee of the Houſe of Aſſembly. In his examination it appeared, that the original plan of ſettling the Maroon families ſeparately was counteracted by the ſyſtem purſued after the arrival of the diſpatches from England approving their reception in Nova Scotia; that the management of the new ſyſtem was conducted by the Lieutenant-Governor, who had of his own accord entered into a treaty for the purchaſe of lands, which the commiſſary did not ſee till afterwards; that the Maroons met with great diſcouragement from ſeveral people in Halifax who wrote petitions for them, and alſo from neighbouring ſettlers who either wiſhed for their removal, with a view to ſucceed to their houſes on eaſy terms, or dreaded, by their becoming induſtrious, a reduction in the price of labour; that a ſyſtem of inactivity was purſued from the time of the ſurrender of the charge; that ſub-

ſequent

ſequent to that ſurrender the Maroon eſtabliſhment was enlarged, unneceſſary purchaſes made, and much altercation ſupported among the perſons employed in the eſtabliſhment; and that the number of people employed in working for the Maroons was very conſiderably augmented. The documents laid before the Houſe, which were referred to the ſame committee, conſiſted chiefly of letters and extracts of letters written by his Grace the Duke of Portland, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, and Mr. Sewell, the agent of the iſland of Jamaica reſiding in London, the purport of which was, on the one hand, to ſhow that his Majeſty's miniſters had by no act or expreſſion taken upon themſelves the charge of the Maroons, or exonerated the iſland of Jamaica from the expences ariſing from their concerns; and on the other, that nothing farther could be reaſonably expected of the people of Jamaica than what the legiſlature had agreed to do, which was to provide the Maroons with cloathing and neceſſaries

for

for their paſſage from the iſland, and to maintain them for a reaſonable time after their arrival at the place of their deſtination; that the Houſe of Aſſembly never had in contemplation the ſettling of a diſtinct black peaſantry in Nova Scotia, or of providing for an unuſual ſuperintendency and eſtabliſhment; and that they had relied on the care of his Majeſty's government that the tranſported delinquents ſhould not be imprudently ſtationed.

It would be abſurd to imagine that his Majeſty's miniſters ever intended to provide at the expence of this country for a body of exiles, and one cannot but lament that the generoſity they evinced on this occaſion ſhould, by any miſconception, have been ſo ill rewarded. I muſt repeat, it is to be regretted that the Aſſembly of Jamaica did not immediately on the information given them by their commiſſary of the ſituation of the Maroons, which was ſoon after their arrival in Nova Scotia, proteſt againſt the new arrange-

ments formed, and persist in the original plan, which might still have been executed, at less expence than they afterwards incurred: but it cannot be denied, that they were eager to seize upon the construction afforded them by the letters of the Duke of Portland and the proceedings of the Governor of Nova Scotia, to get speedily and entirely rid of the Maroon concerns, satisfying their minds with having provided very liberally for them. The Duke of Portland could have acted only in consequence of the dispatches sent to him by the Earl of Balcarres long previous to the sailing of the Maroons from Jamaica. His Grace had indeed previously intimated that he thought their removal from Jamaica best if it could be done with propriety, and was therefore perhaps not unprepared for the event, but it was on receiving Lord Balcarres's dispatches, and before the arrival of the Maroons at Halifax, that two letters were written by his Grace, which justified the Governor of Nova Scotia in taking them under his care, in which, however,

there

there was no aſſumption of providing ultimately for any expence, but on the contrary there was in one of them, the expreſſion of a full reliance on the iſland of Jamaica for every expence attending them. The firſt of theſe letters I have already cited*: of the other, which was dated on the 15th of July 1796, the following is an extract. "For the preſent I have nothing farther to add, but to inform you, that you are to draw on the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury for ſuch expences as you ſhall be under the neceſſity of incurring in the execution of this ſervice, which you will take care to conduct with the ſtricteſt economy, and to ſend over, with your bills drawn on their Lordſhips on this account, correct and proper vouchers, in order that their amount may be repaid by the legiſlature of Jamaica, in the manner ſtated in the incloſed extract of my letter to Lord Balcarres: I muſt, however, obſerve, that the

* Ante, p. 211.

mode

mode of providing for this ſervice would be much ſhortened, if, upon communication with the commiſſioner who accompanies the Maroons, ſome mode could be adopted, whereby the expences you will incur may be repaid by that iſland, through its agent or otherwiſe, in the firſt inſtance; you will, therefore, give to this ſuggeſtion your moſt earneſt attention." By this letter the Governor of Nova Scotia was thought to be indemnified and warranted in conducting the Maroon concerns; and it ſhould ſeem as if the miniſter had never been apprized of any other plan having been ſuggeſted in Jamaica; but the proviſion for the ſervice was clearly expected from the iſland, whether it was to be made through the means of the commiſſioners of the Treaſury, or more directly through the iſland-commiſſary to the Governor of the province. Another letter from his Grace the Duke of Portland to Sir John Wentworth, dated the 1ſt of November 1796, confirmed the opinion of the Houſe of Aſſembly, that the management of the

Maroons

Maroons was considered by his Majesty's ministers to be in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, as there his Grace said; "The manner in which you have provided for the establishment of the Maroons is such, as in all respects to meet with his Majesty's perfect approbation; the mode of defraying the necessary expences of this establishment is very properly arranged; and, as it is the express intention of the legislature of Jamaica to continue the provision for the Maroons until they shall be enabled to subsist themselves, the present arrangement for defraying the expence will, of course, be co-extensive with that period, without subjecting Jamaica, and his Majesty's Government here, to the settlement of any account for that purpose." But in the conclusion of this and in all the Duke of Portland's letters, the island of Jamaica is constantly regarded as bound to provide for every expenditure. The Assembly of the island were aware of this, but they had now an alternative: they might either

remon-

remonſtrate, and claim the privilege of ſpending their own money in purſuing a plan approved by themſelves; or, they might cut the matter ſhort, and ſay to the Governor of Nova Scotia, "you have taken the whole conduct of the concern upon yourſelf, and look to us only for money; be it ſo: you ſhall have all the money we intended for theſe people, and five thouſand five hundred and eighty pounds * more, in conſideration of the weight you remove from our minds." They choſe the latter, and after enumerating the facts by which the Governor of Nova Scotia appeared to them to have taken the charge of the Maroons out of their hands, complaining of his ſending no accounts for fifteen months, and adducing the moderate expence of ſettling the loyal American refugees in the ſame province as a contraſted proof of their

* This ſum was the aggregate of the ten pounds per head voted for the year ending on the 22d of July 1798, and was appropriated to honouring the bills of the Governor of Nova Scotia to that amount.—*Votes of Aſſembly.*

own munificence*, they were of opinion that they were not in juſtice called upon for any farther proviſion for the Maroons, and adhered to their former reſolutions†.

The Houſe of Aſſembly had now entirely diſburdened the iſland of all concern with the Maroons, and the accounts of the commiſſary-general were examined and ſettled. The committee to whom they had been referred, in making their report, declared it to be their opinion, that the commiſſary, notwithſtanding he had been prevented from exerciſing fully his own judgment in the ſettlement of the Maroons of whom he had the charge, had executed the truſt repoſed in him, and diſcharged his duty to the iſland with diligence and fidelity; that he had in the courſe of ſuch

* The number of theſe loyaliſts was five hundred and ſixty, who were ſubſiſted for three years for twenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling. For the Maroons who were not more numerous, Jamaica had advanced twenty-eight thouſand in the firſt year, and ſix thouſand in the ſecond.

† Votes of the Aſſembly.

ſervice, ſuffered great hardſhips and indignities, owing to his bills, drawn on account of the iſland, having been returned to Halifax under proteſt; that he had during his abſence from the country, been at a conſiderable expence in procuring perſons to manage his eſtate and affairs, and otherwiſe been put to great coſts and charges: and they concluded with recommending to the Houſe to grant him ſuch a ſum of money as would be not only a compenſation for his expences and ſufferings, but alſo a liberal reward for his meritorious ſervices. The Houſe, in conſequence of this report, voted him the ſum of five thouſand pounds currency to be paid by the Receiver-General in the month of Auguſt 1799, beſides ſundry expences, and a balance of account due from the iſland. However this ſum may be conſidered in the light of a remuneration for ſuch acknowledged ſervices as had been rendered by Colonel Quarrell to the iſland of Jamaica, it is not to be imagined that it was in reality what it appears nominally,

The loſs of intereſt by the mode of payment, the difference between its being paid in Jamaica and its being paid in England, where he was indebted on account of the iſland, and its being conſidered as covering any further ſums that might ariſe from ſubſequent accounts in the cloſe of the buſineſs in Halifax, certainly reduced the real value of it to little more than two thouſand pounds ſterling. On this vote, ſo recommended and on ſuch grounds, I have but one obſervation to add: it was unaccompanied with thanks.

LETTER XVI.

Situation of the Maroons.—Proceedings and Resolutions of the House of Assembly of Jamaica sent to Halifax.—The Governor of Nova Scotia remonstrates, and unexpectedly prefers Charges against the Commissary.—Nature of the Charges.—How treated by the Committee appointed to enquire into them.—The Maroons become a Burden on the Government.—Proposal to the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company.—Their Motives for consenting to receive the Maroons.—Removal of them to Sierra Leone.—Their Conduct on their Arrival.—Their Importance in the Settlement.—They are established in the Colony.—Their present Character.

THE Maroons, now left entirely to the direction of the Government of Nova Scotia, appear to have sometimes turned their minds to employment and a continuance in the province, and sometimes to have been totally bent on a change of country, which they imagined inaction the best means of effecting. In the summer of 1798, a change in the super-

intendency took place, and the chief management of the eſtabliſhment was given to Mr. Chamberlain the ſchoolmaſter, who it ſeems undertook it upon low terms. He followed the wiſe plan of withholding all allowance of proviſions from thoſe who would not work, and had the ſatisfaction to find that reſolutions made to ſtarve rather than labour, yielded to the calls of hunger, and that inſtead of dying, they began to turn their woods into gardens and cultivated fields. In the year 1799 we find them again refuſing to work. In the courſe of the winter their hope of a removal had been revived, and before the ſnow was off the ground, they pretty generally declared that they would never ſettle to making any improvements in Nova Scotia.

About this time the proceedings of the Houſe of Aſſembly of Jamaica relative to the Maroon affairs in Nova Scotia, and their reſolutions upon the ſubject, arrived in Halifax, and created much agitation in the

the minds of thofe concerned in them. The report made by the commiffary-general, and the examination he underwent before the Houfe of Affembly, were not documents with which the Governor of Nova Scotia could be pleafed. He immediately drew up a ftatement of facts, and tranfmitted them, accompanied by fome affidavits, to Lord Balcarres, to be laid before the Houfe of Affembly, expreffing his furprife and mortification that they fhould have been deceived into fuch refolutions againft him, and declaring that he looked forward to their doing him juftice. The ftatement of facts contained a variety of charges againft the commiffary, upon whom the Affembly called for an anfwer. This he began in fo full a manner, throwing fuch light on the fubject, that the committee appointed to receive and report it, though fatisfied as to the facts, being unwilling that it fhould be put on the Journals of the Houfe, and pitying the abfurdities and glaring inconfiftencies that appeared in the attempt to fupport

ſeveral of the charges, requeſted the commiſſary *as a favour* to confine his anſwers to eighteen which they pointed out, while they rejected the reſt as unworthy of notice. Theſe charges are heterogeneous, beginning with an attack on his opinions as a member of the Aſſembly previous to the tranſportation of the Maroons, reprobating his conduct in Halifax reſpecting the Maroon eſtabliſhment, caſting an odium on his political principles, and ending with a reflexion on his private concerns. I will not trouble you or myſelf by entering here into a particular diſcuſſion of this impeachment, but I will ſend you the eighteen charges made on bare aſſertion, and the anſwers given on oath, that you may amuſe yourſelf with them at leiſure*. When any one, be his ſituation in life what it may, prefers charges againſt men who, deſpiſing life and fortune, devote themſelves to the good of their country, he ſhould be very careful that they are clear

* See Appendix, No. 4.

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in proof and pure in motive, that they ſtand on facts, and come forward unattended by ſuſpicion of perſonal reſentment or recrimination. The Aſſembly would have been juſtified in rejecting the whole with the ſcorn with which they treated a part of the charges; becauſe they had only to turn over the leaves of their own Journals to find them completely refuted in the words of the impeacher himſelf, who in a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, written after the commiſſary had reſigned the whole concern, expreſſes himſelf literally as follows. "It is alſo a duty of juſtice to your lordſhip, and to the iſland, that I fail not to repreſent Mr. Quarrell's conduct in the fulleſt terms of reſpect and approbation; his unremitted humanity, care, and attention, to every thing that could be uſeful to the Maroons, and ſenſible zeal for the honour and intereſt of his employers, certainly entitle him to the laſting affection of the Maroons, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed and grateful conſideration of the government,

 and

and every inhabitant of the iſland of Jamaica *." Was there any thing more wanting to ſhow that the arraignment of the commiſſary's conduct was an afterthought, was the ſuggeſtion of reſentment for the diſcloſure his examination on oath had produced? Why in orations, compoſed in the ſummer and autumn of 1798, long after the commiſſary had left Nova Scotia, for the purpoſe of defending the purity of the Maroon eſtabliſhment, and of reprobating the diſturbers of it, was no blame caſt upon him? Why in a letter written by the Governor of Nova Scotia himſelf ſo long after as January 1799, is he ſtill mentioned with reſpect, or at leaſt without cenſure †? And why does the accuſation follow immediately upon the arrival of the proceedings of the Houſe of Aſſembly of Jamaica at Halifax? Putting aſide the recollection of former ſervices, ſuch glaring appeals to common ſenſe would have diſcharged the Houſe from

* Votes of the Aſſembly. † Ibid.

every obligation of attending to a ſtring of angry and reſentful complaints, the weak after-game of an agitated mind. But conceiving that delicacy required of them ſome notice of a ſtatement proceeding from a perſon holding a high and honourable office, a committee was appointed to inveſtigate the charges. What became of delicacy in the end? The committee barely reported that they had delivered certain charges to Mr. Quarrell, who had anſwered them on oath, which charges, anſwers, and documents cited in them annexed to the report, they begged leave to refer to the Houſe, who agreed to the report, and ſent it up to the Governor. Agreeing to the report was in fact agreeing to nothing; it was indeed admitting that the charges preferred had been anſwered, but being entered on the Journals of the Houſe without any remark, it ſhould ſeem that juſtice and gratitude were ſacrificed to falſe delicacy: for, although undoubtedly, as it was ſaid at the time, the facts ſpoke for themſelves, the commiſſary had a right to expect

expect from the House a public expression of their sentiments on those facts. They had, it is true, already declared, "that he had executed the trust reposed in him, and discharged his duty to the island with diligence and fidelity, in which he had suffered hardships, indignities, and losses," and might think it needless to repeat a declaration which it was clear they would not retract.

Let us now return to the Maroons in Halifax. The dissatisfaction early created among them was still fostered by their pretended friends, or by those who wished their absence. They were made acquainted with the proceedings of the Assembly of Jamaica and the subsequent occurrences; they thought themselves injured, and passed the winter of 1799 in discontent and murmurs. In this situation they were become a dead weight upon the hands of his Majesty's Government, the general expence attending their subsistence amounting to no less a sum that ten thousand pounds

a-year.

a-year*. It was therefore neceſſary to adopt ſome meaſure reſpecting them; and in deviſing means to diſpoſe of them in the beſt manner, the miniſter thought of the ſettlement of Sierra Leone. Eight years before, the negro loyaliſts of America, who reſided in Nova Scotia, had been induced to quit that country and to join the colony in Africa, where they very ſoon became turbulent and unruly, and proceeded to the moſt criminal lengths, even to attempting the life of the Governor. This ſpirit, though checked at firſt, was never ſubdued, and it continued to endanger the very exiſtence of the colony. This conſideration had great weight in inducing the directors of the Sierra Leone Company to receive the Maroons. At firſt, indeed, when the propoſal was made to them by the Duke of Portland, they wiſhed to decline it, from the difficulty they had found in governing the Nova Scotia blacks, but upon reflexion they

* See the evidence ſupporting the report of a committee of the Houſe of Commons reſpecting Sierra Leone, of the 25th of May 1802.

formed

formed a notion that the Maroons would ſerve as a counterpoiſe to them, a notion that muſt have been the reſult of a very different mode of reaſoning from that which had been uſed for their tranſportation from Jamaica, where the idea once entertained of their forming a counterpoiſe in favour of the government had been given up, and where their reſidence was conſidered as favourable to future rebellions. I will not renew this topic, but we ſhall preſently ſee the event of the hope indulged by the directors of the Sierra Leone Company, who, on being promiſed payment of the actual expence incurred in ſettling the Maroons in Africa, conſented to receive them. The firſt intention of the company was to fix the Maroons at a little diſtance from the chief town of the ſettlement, but it was found impracticable. They embarked at Halifax in the autumn of the year 1800, and arrived at Sierra Leone in the month of October. On their arrival, their principles were immediately put to the teſt. An inſur-

insurrection had taken place among the Nova Scotians, who understanding that means were about to be used for establishing the company's authority, had endeavoured to possess themselves of the government*. Had the Maroons been the disciples of revolutionary emissaries, or the abettors of anarchy and equality, they would in all probability have joined the people of their own complexion to extirpate the white tyrant: on the contrary, they joined with alacrity in quelling the insurrection. Some of the insurgents were killed, many taken and tried, a few executed, and several banished. A system of order was introduced by the Governor and Council, supported by their new power and authority; and when another sudden and unexpected blow was aimed at the settlement by some native chiefs, the Maroons took an active part in repulsing the the assailants, and forcing them to remove from the neighbourhood of the colony. "The power of the Nova Scotia party

* Report to the House of Commons of May 25th 1802.

being broken," ſay the committee of the Houſe of Commons, " the internal peace of the ſettlement is no longer endangered by the number of diſaffected Nova Scotians. The character of the Maroons is now become a ſubject of more importance; for the male adults among the Maroons are full as numerous as the remaining male adults of the other claſs of ſettlers *."

Lots of land were given to the Maroons; but though they have at different times cultivated ground to a conſiderable extent, no great dependence is placed on their ſteady purſuit of agricultural plans. Having now brought you to their eſtabliſhment in Sierra Leone, I have little more to add reſpecting them, for I ſee nothing to intereſt you in returning to Halifax, to ſtate who were pleaſed or diſpleaſed, who won or loſt by their removal, or to give an account of the ſale of the property that had been purchaſed for them in Nova Scotia. I cannot, however, better conclude

* Report of May 25th, 1802.

my

my hiſtory of them, than by giving you their character at the time of their tranſportation from Jamaica, in the words of the Governor of that province, and their preſent character, as drawn in the language of the committee of the Houſe of Commons appointed to examine the petition of the directors of the Sierra Leone Company. "I have converſed," ſays the Governor, "with the beſt informed and moſt ſenſible among them, and cannot diſcern any malice or revenge in their ſentiment; that they in fact regretted the war, and thought themſelves purſuing ſelf-preſervation only. In theſe communications they mention the Spaniſh dogs as objects of terror, from the wonderful repreſentations of them, but that they had never ſuffered by, or even ſeen them *." "The Nova Scotians," ſays the report of the committee of the Houſe of Commons, "are now much awed by the Maroons, and look up to Europeans for

* Letter from Sir John Wentworth to the Duke of Portland, dated, Halifax, 20th September, 1796.—*Votes of Aſſembly*, 1801.

protection. The Maroons are active and intrepid, prodigal of their lives, confident of their ſtrength, proud of the character of their body, and fond, though not jealous, of their independence. They univerſally harbour a deſire of going back, at ſome period of their lives, to Jamaica, and therefore may with more difficulty be induced by proſpects of future benefit to labour for the improvement of their habitations or plantations. Theſe circumſtances render them a people not eaſy to be governed, and to be brought into that ſtate of ſociety which would beſt promote the civilization of Africa. The ſuppreſſion of polygamy among them has been hitherto deemed an experiment too hazardous to be tried, and no fair opportunities have yet occurred of aſcertaining how far they will ſubmit quietly to ſuch reſtraints of the civil power as are moſt repugnant to their inclinations and habits. But there are favourable points in their character. Though they do not deſire inſtruction for themſelves, they are glad to have it communicated

municated to their children, who appear to poſſeſs very good capacities. They have no jealouſy of Europeans; on the contrary, *they appear to be cordially attached to them*, and wiſh to ſee an increaſe of the number of white coloniſts. They are generally diſpoſed to labour for hire; many of them ſhow a great deſire to acquire a knowledge of handicraft trades; and ſome of them, who have turned their attention to ſuch trades ſince their arrival at Sierra Leone, have become far more expert workmen than could have been expected. This deſire will probably be ſtronger in their children, who will be brought up in habits very different from thoſe which were formed and confirmed in their parents by their ſituation in Jamaica."

LETTER XVII.

Influx of Foreigners in Jamaica.—Alarm caused by a Letter written by Santhonax.—Rebellion of runaway Slaves.—The Accompong Maroons and Companies of Woodmen employed to reduce them.—The Rebellion quelled.—Evacuation of St. Domingo.—Question as to the raising Regiments of Black Troops.—Alternative offered by the Colonial Legislature.—Agreed to by his Majesty's Ministers.—Grant for building Barracks in the Interior of the Country.—Alarm on Suspicion of Black Troops coming to the Island.—Fresh Influx of French Emigrants and their Slaves.—Arrival of the Guadaloupe Rangers.—The Assembly remonstrate.—Trade with St. Domingo kept open by Toussaint.—A Commercial Commissioner appointed.—Mr. Douglas the Commissioner discovers a Project for invading Jamaica.—Renders Service to the American States, and forwards Intelligence to Jamaica by which the Project is defeated.—Spoliations at Sea in consequence of the Spanish War.—Alteration in the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Island.—Question respecting the Judges.—Kingston made a Corporate Town.—Numerical Tables relative to the State of the Island.

IT remains for me to lay before you the state of Jamaica for the last ten years.

 The

The most striking and interesting feature of that period is the Maroon war, the events of which, and its consequences, I have already related to you, reserving for this portion of my task the subjects unconnected with it.

The revolt of the negroes in St. Domingo, the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and France, and the abolition of all manner of slavery in the colonies by the French proclamation, placed Jamaica in a new and awful position. Very soon after the arrival of the Earl of Balcarres, we saw it naturally creating anxiety and suspicion. In the year 1795, no less than 1199 French persons, in consequence of a proclamation, notified their residence in Jamaica, and, from the dispersion caused by the progress of the revolution, fresh numbers were constantly arriving in the island. Intrigues and conspiracies were apprehended. Strict inquiries were made without discovering any grounds for them capable of proof. La

Fitte and Murenſon, two prevaricating fools, were examined, and although there was not ſufficient evidence of guilt to bring them to a trial, they were confined and ſent off the country; and the Houſe of Aſſembly requeſted the Governor to remove all the French from the iſland to Great Britain or to St. Domingo. However anxious the public mind, no events occurred during the remainder of the year 1796, after the tranſportation of the Trelawney-Town Maroons, to diſturb the tranquillity of Jamaica, although intelligence was communicated by the Governor in the end of December of the war with Spain. In the courſe of the next year a ſlight alarm was raiſed by a letter received by Lord Balcarres from General Simcoe, who had ſucceeded General Forbes in the command at St. Domingo in the month of March. It covered the copy of one from Santhonax, the commiſſioner of the French Government at St. Domingo, to General Beauvais Leogane, dropped in the plain of the *Cul de Sac*, in the neighbourhood

bourhood of Port au Prince. By this it appeared that he had laid a regular plan for a deſcent on Jamaica, and for planting the tree of liberty in Kingſton: but the ſtyle of the compoſition, and the rodomontade of the ſcheme, juſtify the idea of the letter having been expreſsly dropped to be picked up. The plan was never attempted, but the great influx of foreigners this year created much uneaſineſs, and laws and regulations were made to prevent their being dangerous. The year 1798 was pregnant with alarm of ſeveral kinds, which were by no means groundleſs. In February, a banditti of runaway ſlaves, who had formed themſelves into a body under a negro named Cuffee in ſome of the Trelawney mountains, came down upon the neighbouring ſettlers and committed depredations. They gradually increaſed in confidence and in numbers, and, before the month of June, had become ſo formidable, as to excite the greateſt alarm in the part of the iſland they infeſted: it was even ſaid, that the danger the country

was now threatened with, was much greater than that occaſioned by the Maroons*. This, however, could have been only a haſty opinion ariſing from the proximity of the banditti; for neither their number nor their enterpriſes are to be at all compared. The party under Cuffee amounted to forty-three; and it was thought there was another party of thirty in the ſame pariſh. A conſiderable band of them attempted to ſurround and deſtroy a houſe† in which there were three white men, one of whom was ſhot, but the other two, aſſiſted by a faithful negro named Billy, foiled all their endeavours to burn the houſe, and finally forced them to retreat. Theſe poor wretches ſeem to have had no determined object: Cuffee, the head of them, and Polydore, were actuated by a ſpirit of revenge againſt the maſter to whom they belonged, and to kill him was the extent of their views. They were heard to ſay, that they were determined

* Votes of the Aſſembly, 1798.

† Steele and Pauletts.—This ſettlement is marked in the map of the ſeat of war.

to burn all the back ſettlements in that part of the country, and drive all the people that were there before them, that they might get room to go to Hampſtead to kill their maſter, declaring that if they once got him they would be done *. The recollection, however, of the diſaſtrous and perilous ſtate of the iſland in 1795 and 1796 was too lively to admit of the ſlighteſt degree of ſupineneſs. The apprehenſions of the mountain ſettlers and neighbouring planters were tranſmitted without delay to the Governor, who ordered ſeveral parties into the woods to follow and reduce the rebels. A ſucceſſion of letters, not only from private perſons, but from the cuſtos and magiſtrates of Trelawney, painting the terror inſpired by the banditti, and ſtating the depredations committed by them, induced Lord Balcarres to convoke the Aſſembly at an unuſual time, and they met on the 12th of June. His Lordſhip informed the Houſe,

* Votes of Aſſembly, 1798.

that he confidered the rebellion to be dangerous in the extreme, unlefs the moft vigorous meafures were, without a moment's delay, adopted to crufh it; that he conceived the militia, however refpectable in other points, not well calculated to follow and reduce the runaway flaves, nor the regular troops adequate to it; and he earneftly recommended the raifing of three companies of trufty negroes of the beft defcription, under white officers, each company to confift of feventy privates, for the purpofe of conftantly ranging the cockpits, and the woods adjoining. On the fame principle he advifed the employment of the Accompong Maroons; " a body of men," faid he, " who have ever remained faithful to their king and country." Acts were immediately paffed empowering the Governor to raife three companies of woodmen, to be compofed of Indians, free perfons of colour, or trufty negroes; and to employ the Accompong Maroons; and the Affembly, after a fhort feffions of eleven days, was prorogued. Armed with

with the power beſtowed by theſe acts, Lord Balcarres ſoon ſent againſt the rebels that kind of force which was calculated to reduce them, and in a ſhort time they were diſperſed and heard of no more, ſo that when his Lordſhip met the Aſſembly again in the month of October following, he congratulated them on its being, in eaſe and quietneſs, freed from domeſtic trouble and alarms, and while the iſland enjoyed a ſtate of unexampled happineſs and proſperity. This tranquillity, however, did not long remain undiſturbed: at the very time that the Governor was congratulating the Aſſembly, an event had taken place which was preparing for Jamaica freſh anxieties and alarms. A bloody, or rather mortal and ſucceſsleſs, war had been carried on for five years in St. Domingo, which terminated in the neceſſity of evacuating that iſland, and of leaving the inhabitants of it to the horrors brought upon them by the principles of the French revolution. It was finally abandoned in October 1798, and the troops from the

Mole

Mole and the Grand Ance, amounting altogether to a thousand, embarked for Jamaica. During the administration of General Williamson, the raising of regiments of black troops had been suggested and highly approved of by his Majesty's ministers at home, who afterwards, when Lord Balcarres conducted the government, directed him to recommend the adoption of the plan to the House of Assembly. The House, however, seeing nothing but mischief in such a plan, strenuously opposed it, declaring it to be of a most dangerous nature, being totally subversive of that colonial subordination, on which depends the safety of the lives and properties of all his Majesty's subjects settled in the West Indies; and they entered into a resolution, that if ever the plan of embodying negroes to be employed off the island were carried into execution by orders from England, it would be necessary for the House to adopt measures for preventing such negroes from ever returning to Jamaica. The ministry, not equally sensible

of

of the apprehenſions entertained by the members of the Houſe of Aſſembly, wanting troops for ſervice in the torrid zone, and conceiving truſty negroes inured to the climate beſt calculated for that ſervice, perſiſted in urging the ſcheme as rational, and unattended with danger. The colonial legiſlature could not vanquiſh their fears, and were tenacious of their opinions; but, to ſoften the pertinacity of their refuſal, and at the ſame time to obviate the juſt objections againſt the influence of the climate on Europeans unaccuſtomed to a hot country, they propoſed, on condition of the negro ſcheme being abandoned, to be at the expence of raiſing four battalions, to conſiſt of two thouſand men, to be attached to the iſland for its defence, and to be maintained and paid by the inhabitants: the men to be enliſted under a promiſe of being provided with ſmall ſettlements in the interior parts of the country at the end of a certain number of years, from five to nine; and they inſtructed their agent in London to arrange with his Majeſty's

Majeſty's miniſters the means beſt adapted for procuring perſons of the deſcription moſt ſuitable for the ſervice intended, and at the ſame time to ſend out the wives and families of ſuch non-commiſſioned officers and privates as were married. Deſirous of manifeſting their eſteem for the Governor, they alſo paſſed a reſolution to inſtruct their agent to expreſs to his Majeſty's miniſters their wiſh that his Majeſty would beſtow on the Earl of Balcarres the command of theſe battalions: an honour which his Lordſhip, though ſenſible of this teſtimony of eſteem, thought proper to decline. On receiving the propoſals for raiſing two thouſand men, the miniſter offered in lieu of them the 1ſt and 4th battalions of the 60th regiment, which the Houſe of Aſſembly accepted. The offer, however, was attended with a condition of the battalions being changed at the King's pleaſure, which the legiſlature of Jamaica acquieſced in, expreſſing, nevertheleſs, their reliance on his Majeſty's ſolicitude for the welfare of the colony to

prevent any ſuch change taking place, unleſs on great and unforeſeen emergencies, in which the iſland ſhould be directly implicated; it being evident, they ſaid, that the removal of the two battalions, after they had been acuſtomed to the climate and the nature of ſervice beſt calculated for the defence of the iſland, and after forming expectations of obtaining ſettlements in the interior, to be replaced by other troops, not inured to the climate, and not ſufficiently trained for the particular ſervice, would entirely defeat one of the great objects the Houſe had in contemplation, that of adding to the population and militia of the iſland. This being ſettled, the Aſſembly reſolved that barracks ſhould be built in the interior of the country for the new force expected, and voted fifty thouſand pounds to be at the order of the Commander in Chief for their pay and ſubſiſtence, and for providing accommodations for them.

While the House of Assembly was thus employed in measures for preventing any considerable military force being formed of negroes, they were suddenly alarmed, on the evacuation of St. Domingo, by intelligence that the troops employed there were coming to Jamaica. Among those troops were the negro regiments embodied by General Williamson, and a message was immediately sent by the House to the Governor, desiring to know whether any of the troops expected consisted of negroes or people of colour, and requesting that he would give orders for preventing all persons of that description from being landed any where in the island. Although it does not appear that Lord Balcarres coincided in the sentiments of the Assembly respecting negro corps, his Lordship felt it his duty to act conformably to them. He not only assured the House that he had not been informed of any such corps coming from St. Domingo, but he took measures to send from the island all persons of that description disapproved of by them.

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The negro corps embodied by General Williamſon were diſbanded in St. Domingo, where of courſe neceſſity would drive them to ſeek for engagements among the contending inhabitants. Scarcely was the country relieved of apprehenſions that had ariſen from the impolicy of admitting negro regiments in the Weſt India colonies, when the Houſe of Aſſembly again took the alarm at the new and extraordinary influx of emigrants in conſequence of the evacuation of St. Domingo, ſome of whom brought with them a great number of ſlaves. Near ſix hundred of theſe negroes were ſent from the diſtrict of St. Jeremie at the expence of government, and conſiderable numbers alſo from Mole St. Nicholas. About the ſame time too, the Guadaloupe Rangers, a regiment of people of colour, finding the poſts at St. Domingo evacuated, had been obliged to proceed to Jamaica, where they landed on the 1ſt of December. The Lieutenant-Governor, in giving official information of theſe events to the Aſſembly, aſſured the Houſe that the

the Guadaloupe Rangers ſhould be re-embarked as ſpeedily as poſſible: but, in ſpeaking of the emigrants, he recommended to the conſideration of the Aſſembly their ſituation and that of their negroes, who had preferred voluntary ſlavery under a humane government to freedom under the rulers of St. Domingo. Their maſters he deſcribed as perſons of the moſt meritorious character, the conſtant and ſtrenuous defenders of the ſacred principles of religion and good order, and as having a juſt claim by their conduct as Britiſh ſubjects to the protection of the Britiſh crown, the benevolence of his Majeſty, and the liberality, hoſpitality, and commiſeration of the iſland of Jamaica. The Aſſembly, in reply, declared that they ſympathized with the misfortunes of the French royaliſts, but that, after the moſt ſerious deliberation, they were of opinion that the introduction of more of the French, particularly people of colour, negroes, and ſlaves, from St. Domingo, would endanger the ſecurity of the iſland, and increaſe the alarm and diſ-

diſſatisfaction already created. They ſaid that had the evacuation of St. Domingo been even foreſeen, it would but have required the greater precaution, and that as the operations there, were not undertaken to advance the particular intereſt of Jamaica, they could not concur in a meaſure which they apprehended would diſturb the tranquillity of the iſland, however liberal or dignified, in theory, the ſentiments that pleaded for the continuance or admiſſion of French ſlaves into the country. The Governor continued the advocate of the unfortunate emigrants; but in vain did he endeavour to undeceive the Aſſembly in their opinion that the operations in St. Domingo were not undertaken for the intereſts of Jamaica, aſſerting ſolemnly, and in the moſt unqualified manner, that the poſts in the former, from which the unfortunate perſons in queſtion had been compelled to retreat, were conſidered both by the ſpirit and letter of his Majeſty's commands, as out-poſts maintained ſolely for the ſecurity of the latter; in vain did

he urge his Majeſty's intentions of granting lots of land to theſe unhappy perſons in ſome part of the Weſt Indies; the Houſe felt a temporary jealouſy in ſuppoſing that they ſaw a degree of obſcurity caſt over the mind of the executive government, reſpecting the future welfare of Jamaica, by the immediate ſufferings of foreigners; and a ſecret Committee of Safety reported that French ſlaves had been introduced into the iſland contrary to law, that the exiſting laws were ſufficient to rid the interior of the country of them, that the Governor had not given any aſſurance that they were not to be continued in the iſland, and that it appeared from evidence taken before a committee of the Houſe, that their introduction had been encouraged by the Executive Government. Finding that the apprehenſions of the Aſſembly were not to be allayed by argument or humane recommendations, every ſtep was taken by the government to inſure immediate ſafety, and almoſt all the foreign negroes were ultimately removed from Jamaica,

Jamaica; ſome to be landed in Martinico, and others to be ſettled at Trinidad.

Another ſource of alarm aroſe from intelligence of an intended invaſion of the iſland, projected in St. Domingo. On ſurrender of the poſts there, by General Maitland, Touſſaint L'Ouverture, among other ſtipulations, had conſented that a Britiſh commiſſioner ſhould be permitted to reſide in that colony, for the purpoſe of regulating and protecting the trade which it had been agreed by the treaty ſhould be kept open with Jamaica: the government accordingly appointed to that office Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, a gentleman who had ſerved during the whole war in St. Domingo with great credit. In a very ſhort time ſuch obſtacles were oppoſed to this trade, that no great benefit ſeemed likely to accrue from it, and as Colonel Grant was a military man, Touſſaint thought it common policy to object to admitting him in the character of the commercial commiſſioner. The hope of im-

proving the trade, however, was not relinquiſhed, and to ſupply the place of Colonel Grant, it was neceſſary to procure a perſon poſſeſſed of talents, addreſs, and a perfect knowledge of the French language. Theſe were found united in a gentleman of the name of Douglas*, who had been bred to the bar, but who at that time held a lucrative poſt in the office of the agent for ſupplying the troops. A more ſuitable choice could not have been made: Mr. Douglas, inflamed with a deſire to ſerve the iſland, reſigned the poſt he filled in Jamaica, accepted the appointment of commercial commiſſioner, and embarked for St. Domingo. He ſoon not only reconciled Touſſaint to the appointment, but in no ſmall degree ingratiated himſelf with him. From a perfect familiarity with the language and manners of the French, he eſtabliſhed an intimacy with them which led him into a thorough

* Charles Douglas, Eſq. one of the younger ſons of the gentleman mentioned in a former note. See Vol. I. p. 131.

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knowledge of the ſtate of the country, and of the various plans formed by the Directory of France againſt the ſafety of the Britiſh colonies, particularly Jamaica. By his addreſs and vigilance he diſcovered the object of Citizen General Roome's miſſion to St. Domingo, which was to raiſe forces and make a deſcent with brigands on Jamaica, for the purpoſe of revolutionizing the country, by cauſing an inſurrection among the ſlaves. With this view a body of brigands, called the *Legion Diabolique*, and ſeveral other corps, were raiſing at Cape François, while Touſſaint was engaged on the ſide of Port-au-Prince in hoſtilities againſt Rigaud, who was at the head of an army of mulattoes and negroes in the country about Aux Cayes. Roome applied to Touſſaint for aid, which he refuſed, on pretence of having occaſion for all his troops; and certainly he and Rigaud were maintaining a moſt bloody conflict againſt each other: but, whatever were his motives, it is clear he would not give the aſſiſtance required of him

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by the French Directory. Considering himself as the man who had obtained the surrender of the colony from General Maitland, and who had expelled the British arms, he conceived that he was the best judge of the immediate pursuits most requisite for the French colonial interests. He had a dangerous foe to subdue, and a distracted country to reduce to a state of order. He affected to treat the invasion of Jamaica as an enterprise to be considered at his convenience; saying, that an army was unnecessary to subvert a government which would quickly fall before a few of his proclamations. He appears in fact to have been averse to any hostile attempt in Jamaica: not so Citizen Roome, who was moving all the powers of Jacobinism against it. Informed of these proceedings, Mr. Douglas became impatient to dive into the arcana of the projected plan, and determined to visit the Cape in person. At first Toussaint refused him a passport, representing to him the dangers he had to encounter; but Douglas per-

perſevered and prevailed, he paſſed himſelf for a Frenchman, and under the protection of Touſſaint's name, accompliſhed his enterpriſe in ſafety. While he was at the Cape, he rendered the American States a ſignal ſervice, by apprizing them in time that the French intended to ſeize upon their ſhips to execute their project of invading Jamaica; and thus, in putting the Americans on their guard, deprived Roome of one of his revolutionary reſources, and eſſentially impeded his manœuvres in the outſet. Continuing his vigilance unabated, he completely made himſelf maſter of the plan of invaſion, and diſcovered the names, characters, and routes, of two ſpies who had been ſent to Jamaica to pave the way for the enterpriſe. He gave immediate information of theſe circumſtances to the Lieutenant-Governor, ſo accurately deſcribing the ſpies and their veſſel, then lying in Kingſton harbour, that the ſecret drawer containing their projects, plans, and other papers, was ſecured before they were aware of being ſuſpected. One of

the spies, named Duboison, saved his life by making a full discovery of the project of his mission. The other, whose name was Sasportas, was solemnly tried, and executed with an awful parade that had due effect; for Kingston, at that time, was full of French people, among whom it was believed there were some accessaries to the plot. The plan for invasion was a very impotent one, founded on correspondent attempts in Kingston confined to certain French brigands and prisoners. Some stands of arms were dug out of the sand near the Polygon at Fort Charles, and a box of national cockades was committed to the sea in the harbour to be floated ashore, but was picked up by a fisherman between Fort Augusta and Port Henderson. These facts gave alarm, but they were not attended with any concomitant circumstances of danger to the island. Sasportas, who was an outrageous Jacobin, seemed actuated by a hope in the mere possibility of success from an attempt in which he might eventually obtain some

credit. Duboison had been a captain in Dessource's regiment in the British pay in St. Domingo, and declared that he had been induced by poverty, on the evacuation of that country, to offer his services to the enemy. Before they were discovered, Sasportas used to undertake nocturnal expeditions, under pretence of influencing the Charles-Town Maroons, and other negroes, in which he boasted to Duboison of great success. This, however, was deception; though he was undoubtedly inspired with the warmest fervour of Jacobinism, he did little but endeavour to make himself important in the opinion of Roome, whom he was solicitous to inspirit with confidence of succeeding in the attempt. Mr. Douglas, after nearly a year's residence in St. Domingo, returned to Jamaica, whence he was sent with dispatches to England, where he arrived after a short detention at some French port, into which he had been carried a prisoner. Having attended the minister on the subject of his dispatches, and remained in England some time

in hope of his ſituation and ſervices being conſidered, he was referred for compenſation to the Houſe of Aſſembly of Jamaica, who voted him the ſum of five hundred pounds ſterling. Senſible, however, of his merit, Mr. Dundas procured him the agency for the iſland of Curaſçoa, an office from the emoluments of which he might have received a benefit, had not peace ſo ſoon ſucceeded. In whatever point of view Mr. Douglas's ſervices might have been conſidered, it is certain that he was far from being a gainer by them. He not only gave up a lucrative appointment, but ſpent more than two years of his life in tranſacting the affairs of the country. All were indeed unanimous in granting him unbounded applauſe, but in reſpect to compenſation, various were the opinions. It is difficult to account for this backwardneſs of gratitude in an Aſſembly, who had been prompt enough in ſome other inſtances to teſtify the impreſſion made on their minds by ſervices of various kinds, which I ſhall probably have to record

before

before I conclude my taſk; ſervices of a very eſſential nature, but in which, comparing them with thoſe of Mr. Douglas and thoſe of Colonel Quarrell, I find this difference, that the ſervices of theſe gentlemen referred to paſt events and dangers removed and over, whereas the ſervices alluded to had no reference to the paſt, but combined the actual and future intereſts of the colony. I know not whether this be a natural diſpoſition in congregated bodies, but it is not uncommon in individuals: he whoſe life has been ſaved by another, is ſeldom ſo grateful as he whoſe intereſts in life are promoted, and in whoſe welfare the benefactor continues concerned.

When France aſſumed a ſovereignty over Spain, and forced that abject country into an alliance againſt Great Britain, its ports in the Weſt Indies poured forth a ſwarm of feluccas and ſmall privateers, which hovering round the iſland, did conſiderable damage to the trade, particularly the coaſting trade. From their conſtruction and

and lightneſs they were enabled to elude our cruiſers, and derived great advantage from the knowledge of our coaſts, obtained by the Spaniards in their trade with the iſland, which, though contraband, was winked at by the Government. Theſe, uniting with banditti of Frenchmen, compoſing crews of mulattoes and negroes, moſtly ſlaves emancipated and let looſe in St. Domingo by the frenzy of Jacobiniſm, committed great ſpoliations, and were ſeldom captured by our cruiſers, which were not ſufficiently light or adapted to the purſuit of ſuch petty veſſels, and which were generally at ſtations more diſtant, where it was likely they would fall in with enemies of more weight. The want of our manufactures, and of a market which the Spaniards had ever depended upon for the ſale of their colonial productions, induced adventurers to renew, in the midſt of hoſtilities, the old traffick, under the ſanction of Britiſh paſſes, which were granted on our ſide, and the uſe of which was perhaps not diſcouraged by the Spaniſh gover-

governors, for it was on either ſide a ſource of emolument. In conſequence, a very briſk trade with the town of Kingſton enſued, that occaſioned a great influx of ſpecie, of which a conſiderable part found its way to St. Domingo, and was ſwallowed up in ſupport of that melancholy and deplorable warfare, which perhaps averted the conteſt from the ſhores of Jamaica, but in which Great Britain ſeverely ſuffered, not only by the unavailing expenditure of her treaſure, but by the loſs of an immenſe number of her invaluable troops.

During the agitated period of the war, the colonial legiſlature took into conſideration the ſituation of the clergy of Jamaica. In the month of November 1797, the clergy of the iſland preſented a petition to the Houſe of Aſſembly, ſtating, that the eſtabliſhment of many of the incumbents was inadequate to their ſupport, and that the proviſion for their maintenance had been made in the year 1748, a time when the

the value of money was much greater than at this period. The Aſſembly, on inquiry, found that by a ſtatute of Charles the Second, no eccleſiaſtical law or juriſdiction had any power, in any caſe whatever, to inflict penal mulcts or puniſhments, and that one of George the Second, without directly repealing that ſtatute, inveſted the Biſhop of London with the exerciſe of ordinary juriſdiction in the iſland, as it appertained to the regimen of the clergy, but not with authority in reſpect to the preſentation or induction to any of the churches or pariſhes in the iſland. It was at the ſame time obſerved, that no eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction had ever been exerciſed by any deputation or authority from the Biſhop of London, and it was ſuggeſted that in future the exerciſe of ordinary juriſdiction appertaining to the eccleſiaſtical regimen of the clergy ſhould be veſted in the Governor. It was alſo noticed, that the incomes of the clergymen were very unequal, and that the regulations reſpecting the ſtipends, rendered

the rectors in ſome meaſure dependant on the churchwardens for the payment of them. The want of proviſion for the widows and orphans of the clergy, and other defects in the ſtate of the church, were obvious: on which a law was propoſed and paſſed, for the better eſtabliſhment of the clergy, for building churches and parſonage-houſes, and for eſtabliſhing a fund or proviſion for the ſupport and maintenance of the widows and orphan children of deceaſed clergymen. By this act, which was paſſed on the 23d of December 1797, means are provided for enforcing the erecting of churches, to be, as well as thoſe already erected, excluſively confined to divine purpoſes; and for building parſonage-houſes: the rectors of the pariſhes are bound to appropriate a certain portion of time in each Sunday, either before or after the performance of divine worſhip, for the inſtruction of every free perſon of colour, and of every ſlave, willing to be baptiſed and inſtructed in the doctrines of the Chriſtian religion, and

for the performance of this duty to attend in church: the ſtipends of all the rectors in the iſland are made equal, and directed to be paid quarterly by the Receiver-General, at the rate of four hundred and twenty pounds a-year, excluſive of the ſeveral annual ſums given by law as a compenſation for burials in the church: and a fund is eſtabliſhed for the ſupport of widows and orphans of deceaſed rectors, by a deduction of ten *per cent.* from the ſtipends, to be veſted in the commiſſioners appointed by law for ſtating and ſettling the public accounts, as a loan to the public, bearing an intereſt of ſix *per cent.*, which intereſt is to be applied to the ſupport and maintenance of the widows and orphans. At the time of paſſing this act, the Houſe of Aſſembly, in an addreſs to his Majeſty, prayed that a power might be veſted in the governor of the iſland to cenſure, ſuſpend, or remove, any clergyman who might be complained of, in ſuch manner, and according to ſuch regulations as the legiſlature of Jamaica ſhould provide for,

with a right of appeal, on removal, to any court in Great Britain his Majeſty ſhould approve. This wiſh of the Aſſembly was ſubmitted to the conſideration of Sir William Scott, his Majeſty's Advocate-General, who was of opinion that the propoſed delegation of the power of eccleſiaſtical regimen over the body of the clergy in the iſland, in the hands of lay governors, who are unacquainted with the nature and exerciſe of the paſtoral office, was liable to objections of no inconſiderable weight. This opinion is written with ſuch elegance as well as learning, that I ſhould grieve to abridge it; the whole, which is addreſſed in a letter to his Grace the Duke of Portland, ſhall therefore accompany this *, and I ſhall only here add, that in conſequence of his recommendation, his Majeſty was pleaſed, in his character of Supreme Head of the church, to decide upon nominating three or more reſpectable clergymen of the iſland to be his commiſſaries, for the pur-

* See Appendix, No. 5.

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pose of exercising, jointly and synodically, ecclesiastical discipline over the clergy, with powers, under certain restrictions, of punishing offenders. The Bishop of London being consulted on the subject, expressed his willingness for the accomplishment of the measure, and the legislature of Jamaica was informed that as soon as they had repealed the act by which this part of the royal supremacy had been transferred to the Bishop, a proper instrument appointing commissaries should be prepared and transmitted. The act was immediately repealed, and on the 11th of December 1800, the instrument, appointing John Campbell, Rector of St. Andrews; Thomas Rees, Rector of Kingston; Thomas Warren, Rector of St. Elizabeth; Francis Ricard, Rector of St. James's; and R. S. Woodham, Rector of St. Catherine's, his Majesty's Ecclesiastical Commissaries, was sent by the Governor to the House of Assembly, who voted salaries for a register and an apparitor.

In

In the civil departments few alterations have been made within the laſt ten years. A bill was brought into the Houſe of Aſſembly to enable the King to appoint barriſters of a certain ſtanding, judges of the ſupreme court of judicature and courts of aſſize in the iſland, to hold their commiſſions *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*, but it never paſſed into a law. The appointments ſtill remain with the governor of the iſland, who has ſince made a barriſter chief juſtice. It has been frequently a queſtion among the coloniſts, whether the planters, gentlemen of education, were not ſufficiently well informed for all the purpoſes of adminiſtering juſtice between man and man, and it has been generally thought by them, that they were. It may be obſerved, that in ſmall communities, where the laws as well as the caſes ariſing upon them are few, a knowledge of buſineſs, with good ſenſe and integrity, may be all that is requiſite; but when the laws are very numerous, and caſes are multiplied infinitely, a nicety of judgment,

which can be gained only by ſtudy and habitual attention, will be required to ſolve the intricacies naturally iſſuing from the great variety of facts, and from the ingenuity of men in the miſapplication of principles. But if this obſervation applies to courts of law, it muſt alſo apply to courts of equity, where, particularly in Jamaica, moſt of the queſtions relative to large properties are decided, and accordingly the propriety of the chancellor's office being diſcharged by military men, as it generally is in Jamaica, has been frequently denied. It is true that an appeal in all great caſes, either of law or equity, lies to the King in Council, but it muſt be remembered that the expence is enormous.

To this long letter I have only to add, that the great increaſe of the number of the inhabitants of Kingſton, and the variety of alarms that had been given to the country, rendering the ſtricteſt attention to the police of the town neceſſary, an act was paſſed in the year 1801, conſtituting

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a corporation for the better ordering and managing the police of the town and pariſh of Kingſton, with proper and adequate powers.

With this you will receive numerical ſtatements relative to Jamaica from the lateſt accounts I have obtained, which will enable you to form a tolerable accurate judgment of the ſtate of the iſland in thoſe reſpects.

An Account of the Quantity of TONNAGE *received into the ſeveral Ports of Jamaica, from the 1ſt of January* 1793, *to the* 24*th of November* 1799.

Year.	Britiſh.	Foreign.	Total.
1793	109,551	2,232	111,783
1794	139,784	37,875	177,659
1795	110,856	55,695	166,551
1796	88,088	74,774	162,862
1797	88,652	35,923	124,575
1798	121,085	48,338	169,423
1799	109,319	68,886	178,205

An Account of the Total Amount of EXPORTS *of the Chief Produce of Jamaica for the Years undermentioned.*

Year.	Sugar. Hogsheads.	Sugar. Tierces.	Sugar. Barrels.	Rum. Puncheons.	Rum. Hogsheads.	Ginger. Casks.	Ginger. Bags.	Piemento. Casks.	Piemento. Bags.	Bags of Cotton.	lbs. of Coffee.
1793	77,575	6,722	642	34,755	879	62	8,605	420	9,108	13,029	3,983,576
1794	89,532	11,158	1,224	39,843	1,570	121	10,305	554	22,153	16,842	4,911,549
1795	88,851	9,537	1,225	37,684	1,475	426	14,861	957	20,451	17,766	6,318,812
1796	89,219	10,700	858	40,810	1,364	690	20,275	136	9,820	9,903	7,203,539
1797	78,373	9,963	753	28,014	1,463	259	29,098	328	2,935		7,931,621
1798	87,896	11,725	1,163	40,823	2,234	119	18,454	1,181	8,961	2,859	7,894,306
1799	101,457	13,538	1,321	37,022	1,981	221	10,358	1,766	28,273	30,693	11,745,425
1800	96,347	13,549	1,631	37,166	1,350	444	3,580	610	12,759		11,116,474
1801	123,251	18,704	2,692	48,879	1,514	12	239	648	14,084		13,401,468
1802*	129,544	15,405	2,403	45,632	2,073	23	2,079	591	7,793		17,961,923

* For a detailed account of the returns of imports and exports of the year 1802, see Appendix, No. 6.

An Enumeration of other Exports, *confined to the Year* 1799.

Logwood and fustick, 13,704 tons.
Logs and planks of Mahogany, 2,876.
Gum guiacum, 62 casks and boxes.
Indian arrow root, 24 casks and boxes.
Castor oil, 236 casks.
Turmerick, 397 bags.
Lancewood spars, 2,230.
Ebony, 21 tons.
Hides, 38,379.
Supple-jacks, 822 bundles.
Oil nuts, 10 casks.
Indigo, 19 casks.
Shrub, 23 casks.
Cocoa, 468 casks, 9055 bags.
Cow horns, 7130.
Lignumvitæ, 67 tons.
Goat skins, 46.
Melasses, 420 casks.
Planks of yellow sanders, 39.
Barrels of fruit, 910.

An Account of the Imports of Provisions *from Great Britain and Ireland, from the 1st of September* 1798, *to the 1st of September* 1799.

Flour, 826 puncheons, 3,336 barrels.
Ship Bread, 2,729 butts, 1,619 hogsheads, 2,300 barrels, 8430 bags.
Salt Beef, 1,199 tierces, 13,752 barrels, 3,298 half-barrels.
Salt Pork, 712 tierces, 14,699 barrels, 3,411 half-barrels.
Pease, 3,610 casks.
Herrings, 122,428 barrels.
Butter, 19,740 firkins.

From the above statement may be seen, in one point of view, the immense advantages derived from the island of Jamaica to the commerce and navigation of Great Britain, exclusive of those arising to her commerce and manufactures from the importation of all the other articles required for the consumption of the island, and for carrying on its plantations and other settlements, brought directly from Great Britain and Ireland, in British and Irish shipping, the amount of which is almost incalculable.

An Account of the Importation, Exportation, and average Prices of SLAVES, *from November* 1792, *to November 26th* 1799.

Year.	Slaves imported.		Slaves exported.		Average Price.
	Kingston.	Montego Bay.	Kingston.	Montego Bay.	Sterling.
1792	2,171	1,189			
1793	20,355	5,980	215	186	£45 16 10
1794	13,257	227	1,330	184	46 9 9
1795	11,459	990	4,214	76	42 17 11
1796	7,967		2,199	121	51 6 3
1797	10,374		2,941	26	51 1 5
1798	9,659	1,419	655	20	58 11 8
1799	10,286	982	62		72 4 10

Account of Slaves, Stock, Acres of Land, Land and Poll-Tax, of 1801.

Slaves, ...	307,094.
Stock, ...	213,137.
Acres of land, ...	2,203,640.
Land-tax, ...	£55,090 19 3¼.
Poll tax, ...	£203,799 19 10.

Estimate

Estimate of the Wars *and* Means *for* 1802.

Poll-tax, ...	£140,000	0	0
Ditto, arrears of 1801, ...	18,000	0	0
Deficiency, two quarters of 1802, and arrears of 1801, ...	25,000	0	0
Land-tax, ...	42,000	0	0
Ditto, arrears of 1801, . . .	1,500	0	0
Negro duties, ...	50,000	0	0
Rum duties, ...	8,000	0	0
Additional duties, ...	7,500	0	0
Arrears of former years taxes, . .	20,000	0	0
Surplus of Revenue, ...	16,000	0	0
Stamp duties, ...	38,000	0	0
Debts, ...	1,000	0	0
Fees on private bills, ...	200	0	0
	£367,200	0	0
Balance of cash,	202,005	3	4
	£569,205	3	4

Returns *from the several* Maroon Towns *for* 1801.

	Moore Town	Charles Town.	Scotts Hall	Accompong Town
Men	53	65	13	38
		Officers 7		
Boys	20	30	12	25
Women	83	81	10	47
Girls	12	24	11	11
Children	110	54		15
		Invalids 2		
	278	263	46	136
Grand total, 723.				

An

An Abstract of the General Returns of the MILITIA *in the Years* 1796 *and* 1797.

	1796.	1797.
Total of calvary, . .	1259	1210
Surry infantry, ...	1864	1774
Middlesex infantry, . .	2557	2230
Cornwall infantry, . .	2116	2189
Total of infantry, . .	6537	6193
Total of militia, . .	7796	7403
	Effectives.	Effectives.
Cavalry, ...	104	965
Infantry, ...	5843	5323
	6885	6288

The years 1796 and 1797 were those when the militia were called most into action. In 1792 the number was greater, viz. the general return, 8172; effective, 7315. Of the infantry in 1797, there were 1331 people of colour, and 469 blacks.

A De-

A Detail of the Barracks, and the Numbers each should contain, as proposed by General Nugent, the present Governor of Jamaica, displaying the regular Forces stationed in the Island.

	Head-quarters.	Detachments.	No.	Tot.
2 Battal.	Up-Park-Camp, -	- - -	1200	
		Kingston, -	50	
		Port Royal, -	80	1330
	Stoney-Hill, -	- - -	500	500
1 Battalion.	Charles-Town, -	- - -	300	
		Burke's, between Port Antonio and Bath,	100	
		Near Marchioneal, -	200	
		Port Antonio, -	100	
		Port Maria, - -	50	750
1 Battalion.	Trelawney-Town,	- -	300	
		Quashie River, in Black Grounds,	200	
		Falmouth, - -	30	
		Montego Bay, -	30	
		Lucea, - -	50	
		Fort Dundas, - -	30	
		Savanna la-Mar, -	90	730
1 Battal.	Fort Augusta, -	- - -	500	
		Spanish-Town, -	100	
		Twelve Apostle's Battery,	60	
		Fort Clarence, -	30	690
	Port Royal (Royal Artillery),	- - -	200	200
			Total	4200

LETTER XVIII.

Culture of new Canes. — Soils. — Remarks on Night-Work during Crop.—Improvement in Sugar-making by Higgins. — New Hints on the Subject. — Neglect of Gardening. — The Botanic Garden. — Clove Tree. — The Bread Fruit. — Proposed Improvement of the Navigation of the Gulf of Mexico by erecting Light-Houses.

THE statements accompanying my last packet will show you, at one view, the increase of sugar, coffee, and all the other articles produced in Jamaica, and the extension of its commerce. They likewise lay before you the extent of the land in cultivation, the augmented number of slaves, the mode of raising the revenue of the island, the returns of the Maroons remaining in the country, and a view of the forces, regular and militia. You are not now to expect from me a narrative of successive events, but information and observations on a variety of miscellaneous topics

topics reſpecting the ſtate of the iſland. The firſt naturally preſenting itſelf is that of agriculture, and the improvement of the chief ſtaple. With the nature of the cane in general, and of the manufacture of ſugar you are already acquainted, I ſhall only touch upon what is novel. In the years 1794 and 1795, ſeveral veſſels arrived from Antigua and St. Kitt's in different ports of the iſland, where they landed for ſale a great quantity of the joints of a ſpecies of cane of a larger growth than that which had been hitherto cultivated in the iſland, and which a few years before was the only kind cultivated throughout the Britiſh, French, Spaniſh, Daniſh, Dutch, and other ſugar colonies. The other had found its way into Antigua, Guadeloupe, and Martinico, where it was ſoon extenſively cultivated. It had been imported with ſeveral other ſpecies, larger than the ordinary cane, from the iſlands of Bourbon and Mauritius in the Eaſt Indies, whether they were probably brought ſtill farther from the Eaſt. It is named

the Bourbon, or Otaheite, cane. A ſmall quantity, hardly worth mentioning, had been raiſed in Jamaica. The tops now imported were bought up with the greateſt avidity, at the rate of twenty-five pounds per hundred, each top containing from four to ſix eyes, and the beſt being culled, the remainder ſold for five pounds per hundred. They were cultivated for ſale, and ſoon extenſively ſuperſeded the ſmall cane, which held its ground chiefly in thoſe parts where, from the nature of the ſoil, a regular annual ſucceſſion of growth, called ratoons, rendered a repetition of planting unneceſſary; theſe ratoons riſing from the firſt planting, after the clearing of the woods, on the ſame ſtock, thirty, forty, fifty years, and ſometimes longer, as in the pariſh of Trelawney and a great part of St. James's. The new cane, however, gained a conſiderable footing in thoſe pariſhes. The Bourbon is particularly diſtinguiſhed from the common cane by its ſize and height, it being four times as large, and much higher.

The

The canes riſing from the centre of the ſtock, are by their weight inclined from a perpendicular in all directions around the root: its top, however, is lighter in proportion than that of the common cane. It is attended with ſome diſadvantages. When ground in the mill, it affords leſs fuel, and the tops, in compariſon with the ordinary cane, being infinitely ſmaller, do not yield an adequate proportion of fodder for the ſtock: they are beſides very coarſe, and, according to the ſize of the cane, produce ſpicula of a harder and more inflexible kind, conſequently are not ſo digeſtible or wholeſome as the tops of the common cane; whence a change of food or paſture, as of guinea graſs or other graſſes, is more frequently neceſſary than in the courſe of a crop of the common cane, in order to correct the effects of the cane-tops. The Bourbon is ſaid, upon an average, to yield at leaſt one third more ſugar per acre than the old cane, and this, although the ſugar produced by the former is known to be ſpecifically lighter by an eighth or tenth,

than that produced by the latter. Another of its valuable properties is, that the juice of it is eaſier cleaned, and a quicker ſeparation made of the dirt and mucilaginous ſcum by a due proportion of white lime; nor is the ſugar in point of grain or colour at all inferior, but generally ſuperior to the other.

A variety of other canes has been introduced into Jamaica of late years, ſuch as the ribbon, the green ſtriped, the violet, the tranſparent, the Batavian or purple, all of which have various advantages and diſadvantages, but are none of them very great rivals of the Bourbon. The ribbon cane ſtands next in eſtimation. It is called by the French *rouge et d'or*, being longitudinally ſtriped yellow and deep red. It grows as high as the Bourbon, but is ſlenderer, and of courſe reſiſts wind leſs. The tops are better for feeding ſtock, and there are ſome who prefer the juice and the quality of its ſugar. The green ſtriped cane is a variety of the ribbon, and differs only in the colour of

of one of the ſtripes. The violet is not much eſteemed; the canes being very apt to ſplit as they lie in the fields after being cut down. The tranſparent is but little cultivated. The Batavian, the body and leaves of which are deep purple, has nothing to recommend it to the planter. It is ſaid rats prefer it to every other; if ſo, it would be well to plant ſome patches of it among the cane-pieces. It is here and there raiſed, but leſs for profit than to ſatisfy curioſity.

To this variety of canes, no doubt peculiar ſoils and different climates are reſpectively adapted. By difference of climate, is to be underſtood the effects experienced in the elevated parts of the interior of the iſland, and thoſe of the low country; a difference which only they can comprehend who have experienced it, they who have traverſed the wide and arid plains of Pedro, and viſited the deluged pariſh of St. George's on the north-eaſt ſide of the iſland. The Bourbon cane thrives in moſt ſoils, but to yield well in a ſoil naturally

dry, it requires a good deal of rain; otherwise it becomes light and pithy, and the rind turns hard. This happens in dry upland ſituations, and ſuch as are expoſed to the ſea-breeze. It thrives beſt in ſtrong ſtiff ſoils, with a mixture of good mould. Land compoſed of coarſe grit and clay intermixed with round flint ſtones, is particularly favourable to this cane, and none is more ſuſceptible of the advantages of manure and culture. All ſoils that have a mixture of looſe detached flint ſtones are good, the ſubſtratum is generally compoſed of a mixt grit and clay, its tenacity is ſufficient to retain a due proportion of moiſture, but not too much to prevent the cane-roots ſpreading themſelves and penetrating for ſufficient nutrition. The ſtrong ſtiff lands in the pariſh of St. Mary's, are well ſuited to the Bourbon cane; but the great increaſe of its produce there, is not a little owing to the quantity of rain that falls. The ribbon cane thrives wherever the Bourbon does, and is ſaid to be better adapted to looſe light lands. In the previous hiſtory of

of Jamaica you have an account of the ufual mode of the tillage of a plantation and of the manufacture of fugar: I fhall therefore only make fome obfervations on the working of the negroes, and fuggeft an improvement in fugar-boiling, communicated to me by a fenfible and experienced planter.

During crop, a great number of the plantation negroes, by fpells, is kept at work the whole night. There is not an abufe more flagrant, but which avarice cannot be tempted to forego. I have, however, heard a benevolent planter declare it to be his opinion, that the practice is rather detrimental to the intereft of the proprietor. The languor with which work is undertaken after a fleeplefs night is evident to the eye, and in its effects: the exertions of the frefh fink to the level of thofe made by the wearied and fleepy whom they join, and whofe labours through a long, dark night, give a dulnefs to thofe of the day. The cattle too require their due portion

of reſt. The mill ſhould never work after ten o'clock at night, nor the boiling of ſugar continue longer than twelve: rather let an hour or two be added to the labour of the day in crop-time, and let the refreſhment required by nature be deemed ſacred from encroachment. They who have obſerved the tardy operations of the night, one part of the proceſs lagging for the other in alternate delay, will feel the force of this. It is not only the intereſt of humanity, but of the planter's purſe. The buſineſs of the crop is ſeldom ſuſpended during heavy rains, which it ſhould be; and were the works of the plantation always kept in order for making ſugar, for which they ſhould be ready at all times, there are often favourable periods for making ſome out of the uſual crop-time, which alone would compenſate for any loſs that might be feared by giving up the practice of employing night ſpells: but at the end of crop the works are uſually ſuffered to go out of order.

Great encouragements have always been given by the inhabitants of Jamaica for improving this their grand ſtaple, and many adventurers have at different times offered new ſchemes. It is not my intention to take a retroſpect of theſe enterpriſes, but I ſhould be guilty of a great omiſſion, were I not to ſpeak of a gentleman, whoſe talents and ſituation in life place him beyond all ſuſpicion of being a needy adventurer. In the year 1796, Dr. Bryan Higgins, a phyſician of great reputation on chemical ſubjects, was induced to leave his family and a conſiderable eſtabliſhment in London for a time, and to viſit Jamaica to employ his knowledge in the ſervice of the iſland, by improving the manufacture of the principal ſtaples, ſugar and rum. In Dr. Higgin's memorial to the Houſe of Aſſembly, he ſtates that he had diſcovered certain proceſſes by which ſugar might be made whiter, purer, and intrinſically more valuable; rum rendered more grateful and ſalubrious, and valuable;

 the

the loſs by the drainage of melaſſes prevented; and the fuel uſed more effectually, and more economically managed. His offers were accepted by the Aſſembly, and committees were appointed for each county, to attend in making his propoſed improvements. The Doctor remained ſeveral years in the iſland, devoting his talents to the ſervice of it. His improvements conſiſted in the ſtructure of the coppers, which was calculated to prevent any waſte of fuel, and to accelerate the boiling of the ſugar, and was conſidered as being very favourable to the improvement of the quality. The conſtruction of the traſh-houſe recommended by him was found to prepare the traſh for uſe infinitely ſooner than had ever been known before. His proceſs for meliorating the quality and encreaſing the quantity of rum, gave the greateſt ſatiſfaction: it is eaſy, ſimple, and economical, and it prevents the noxious quality and offenſive ſmell of new rum. The diſtiller, by ſetting his vats or ciſterns by the

hydro-

hydrometer, and the ſcale adapted to it, acts with certainty and preciſion, ſo that no ſweets are waſted, and, on an average, about a ſeventh or eighth of the ſweets are ſaved; and by the uſe of the ley of the ſtoke-hole aſhes, and other means recommended, the ſpirit is ſo rectified as to attain the deſired perfection. Whatever tends to increaſe the value of ſuch important means of wealth, cannot but be liberally rewarded by thoſe who are to profit by them. On his firſt landing, his plans promiſing fairly, the Houſe of Aſſembly voted him three hundred and fifty pounds per quarter, and afterwards one thouſand four hundred pounds a-year, to be paid quarterly; and in the year 1801, when his health obliged him to return to Europe, they directed the Receiver-General to remit to his order in England, one thouſand pounds ſterling, free of all expences. After all, whatever may be the cauſe, I am told that his plans of improvement were adopted by few of the

 planters,

planters, and continued by fewer ftill. This may be owing to the power of habit, for men muft be impelled as well as taught, and it is difficult to account any other way for a neglect of improvements fo decidedly applauded and rewarded.

It is frequently afked why we have not from Jamaica fome of the ftrong, fparkling fugar, formerly imported from that ifland: to which the beft anfwer is, that the planters have improved themfelves out of the practice of making it. Large cock-coppers fimmering over the fire, with a cruft of dirt, mucilage, and other filth, inftead of improving, have made the fugar worfe. To remedy this, many in St. Thomas's in the Eaft have begun to fkim their cock-coppers, and have found fome fmall benefit by it: but the evil was only half done away; they fimmered on. Some, by ftrict attention to a due maturity of the cane and other circumftances, have improved the look of their fugars, which they

they attribute to the cock-coppers, but ſugars that put on a ſpecious appearance in their curing-houſes, will not always carry the ſame acroſs the ſeas into the market. There is one criterion of ſugar, hardly known by any planter, which is this: let ſeveral hogſheads, as they ſtand in the curing-houſe, after having been made a month, be dug out, and it will be found that the ſugar ſmells ſpirituous, ſour, and offenſive in a greater or leſs degree: that which has the leaſt of theſe unfavourable qualities will prove the beſt after a voyage. This ſmell is to be amended, conſequently the ſugar made better, and leſs liable to waſte on the paſſage to Europe. It is not to be done, however, by large wide cock-coppers, or the miſapplication of the principles of evaporation in the uſe of wide veſſels; for ſugar is not to be obtained like ſalt; but the way to effect it is as follows: the liquor in the *earlieſt* ſtage of the proceſs *poſſible*, is to be made as tranſparent as pure Madeira wine, not

ſuch

ſuch as in a glaſs will look like new-made unſettled beer. A certain degree of heat, and the application of ſome white lime, will be neceſſary, and likewiſe ſkimming; then a perfect quieſcent ſtate of the liquor ſhould ſucceed; for it would be uſeleſs to try the proceſs in a previous ſtate, or with the raw juice while the impurities are ſo diffuſed throughout, and ſo thoroughly blended. A ſeparation muſt firſt take place of the unctuous and feculent parts from the pure liquor, which cannot be without the previous aid of fire: this muſt be completed by the addition of a proper lixivium. After this firſt proceſs of depuration, the liquor, when taken up in a glaſs tumbler, and ſuffered to remain quiet for a ſhort time, will appear tranſparent in parts, interſperſed with unequal lines of cloudy ſubſtances ſuſpended in various gatherings, but tending to ſubſide. This ſhows that the gum, mucilage, and other feculencies, before blended with the liquor, are diſengaged. Coming in contact by the mutual attraction of analogous ſubſtances, they

will form a more compact and intimate adhesion of parts with one another, and the finer particles of dirt caught and suspended by these inspissated clouds, will leave the remaining part of the liquor perfectly pellucid; when, to complete the depuration, the process of abduction, or removal of the pure liquor, takes place, and the juice so purified is carried rapidly over an intense fire through the taitches, and becomes a good, bright, and strong sugar, superior to any yet produced. This theorem does not arise from a study of the principles of chemistry. Surprising as it may appear, it is a fact that no chemist has ever yet suggested a useful hint in the first stages of the process of sugar-making. In the above discovery, incidental observations led to experiments, and these to incontrovertible proofs. An intelligent and observant planter, who attends to his boiling-house, is the most likely person to make useful discoveries in the process of this manufacture; his experiments on a narrow scale furnishing hints that may be improved

improved on a large one. It is to be obſerved, however, that to attempt to purify cane-juice to the clearneſs of cryſtal, or ſpring water, would be to travel out of the regions of nature and reaſon. All cane-juice contains ſaccharine ſalts for cryſtalization, and a reſiduum convertible into melaſſes by the ſame proceſs of evaporation. The melaſſes will be paler or darker in proportion to the quality of the cane-juice, and perhaps may owe ſomething more of its dark colour to the neceſſary operation of fire; the diſcoloration of the grain of the ſugar will be in proportion to that of the melaſſes, which ſimply affects the ſurface of the grain or cryſtal, the latter being pure white.

Little attention has been paid in Jamaica to culture unconnected with that of the great ſtaples of the country. A taſte for gardening is unknown, or perceived in ſolitary inſtances. Culinary vegetables and native fruits are obtained with little trouble, but the improvement of grounds for the

purpoſe of delighting the eye, and expanding the emotions of the mind in the enjoyment of cultivated beauty, forms no part of the reliſh of the planter, who but too generally looks to his country only for the means of ſecuring him delights in other regions. A botanical garden, however, has been eſtabliſhed many years, which is reckoned an honour to the iſland. Dr. Broughton, a phyſician and botaniſt of great reputation reſiding in Jamaica, ſpeaking of this garden in the year 1796, ſays: "When the country firſt purchaſed the garden in Liguanea, it contained a great number of uſeful trees and ſhrubs, collected from all parts of the world, alſo a great variety of ornamental plants, which were ſo blended, as not only to gratify the botaniſt, but the lover of horticulture in general. Since that period, the garden ſeems to have been conſidered rather as a nurſery of exotic trees and ſhrubs; and in conſequence of the introduction of a great variety of theſe from the South Seas and other parts of the world, the time and

care of the ſuperintendant has been employed for propagating them for public diſtribution, and the ornamental part of the garden has not been particularly attended to. Since the year 1794, ſome thouſands of plants have been diſtributed in different parts of the iſland; ſuch as bread-fruits, jaacks, cinnamon, camphor, ſaſſafraz, ſago, black pepper, long pepper, Guinea pepper, mangoes, Otaheite apples, gum arabic, mangoſteens, olives, tea, &c., beſides a number of leſs uſeful plants." In every point of view this garden muſt be conſidered as an important eſtabliſhment, but the greateſt benefit it promiſes, is the cultivation of the valuable productions of the Eaſt. The cinnamon, mango, and ſome other oriental trees, have long ſince been imported. In the courſe of the laſt ten years, the clove tree, by the attention and perſeverance of Mr. Buée *, has been ſucceſsfully introduced into the iſland of Dominica. In the year 1795 he firſt

* William Urban Buée, Eſq. of the iſland of Dominica.

gathered

gathered the fruit. There were only two trees that bore, which produced him four pounds and a half of cured cloves, beſides two pounds, at leaſt, left on the trees, to obtain mother of cloves*, for the propagation of the ſpice. Half a pound was gathered from the ground of what had fallen before it was fully ripe, ſo that the two trees produced more than ſeven pounds of cloves the firſt year of their bearing. According to the Abbé Raynal's account, the annual production of a clove-tree in the Molucca iſlands is about three pounds. There, however, they are topped at from eight to nine feet for the conveniency of gathering: in Cayenne, where they are not topped, they grow larger than orange-trees, and are ſaid to produce from forty to fifty pounds each tree. Mr. Buée ſent ſamples of his cloves to Sir Joſeph Banks, who applying for information on the ſubject to an eminent dealer in the article, was anſwered that he thought him griev-

* The berries of the clove-tree ripe and fit for vegetation.

oufly deceived, in fuppofing the cloves to be the produce of the Weft Indies, he being abfolutely certain that they came from the Eaft. The famples were afterwards fubmitted to the examination of fome of the principal dealers in fpice, who were all of opinion that they would anfwer every culinary purpofe as well as thofe of the Spice iflands in the Eaft Indies *. Laft year the Committee of Correfpondence were inftructed to write to the agent of the ifland, for the purpofe of obtaining plants of the nutmeg, true cinnamon, clove, and other valuable productions of the Eaft. All plants raifed in the botanic garden for the general benefit of the ifland are diftributed abundantly, and when any of the planters defire to have any particular kind, they have but to give a month's notice. To cover all the expences of this eftablifhment, a certain quantity of adjoining land

* Further information on the fubject of the clove-tree is given in Mr. Buée's narrative of his fuccefsful manner of cultivating it, which is inferted in the Votes of the Houfe of Affembly of Jamaica, 1797, p. 363.

has,

has, by the direction of the Aſſembly, been converted into a coffee plantation, the returns of which are adequate to that purpoſe.

I cannot quit the ſubject of culture without replying to your inquiry concerning the bread-fruit, with the nature of which the public have been made thoroughly acquainted by Captain Bligh*, who in the year 1791 arrived at Jamaica from the Pacific Ocean in his Majeſty's ſhip the Providence, and with many other plants, landed about ſix hundred of the bread-fruit. The ſoil and climate proving congenial, they could not fail to thrive. A diſtribution of them was made, and being eagerly cultivated at firſt, promiſed to be of general benefit to the iſland. But ardour ſubſided as novelty wore off, and there is hardly an inſtance where the propagation of theſe plants has been extended with any provident view, or future dependence

* See Bligh's Voyage to the South Sea. The Aſſembly voted him a thouſand guineas.

upon them, in unexpected ſcarcity. The negroes preferring their old food, moſt of the planters have been contented with a few to ſatisfy curioſity. There is, however, one gentleman *, who has cultivated them with care, and judiciouſly diſtributed ſome thouſands of the plants into groves and plantations, from which, ſhould a general ſcarcity of the uſual proviſions take place, he muſt derive great advantage; for want would ſoon reconcile the appetite to a food which is nutritious and ſufficiently palatable: and ſhould ſcarcity never return, they cannot but be conſidered as ornaments to his eſtate. This gentleman is alſo an exception to the remark reſpecting the general indifference of the planters to the beauty of grounds laid out with taſte. Thoſe around his elegant manſion he has diſpoſed in beautiful lawns, groves, and ſhrubberies, which give his reſidence the appearance of one of thoſe charming ſeats that beautify the country, and exalt the taſte of England.

* Mr. Campbell of Saltſpring, in the pariſh of Hanover.

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The ſtatement of the tonnage employed in the Jamaica trade, which accompanied my laſt, will ſhow the extent of its navigation, but the ſubject naturally brings to mind the propoſal that was made to the Government of Jamaica in the year 1796, by the Conſulat at the Havanna, in a letter written by the Marquis del Real Socorro to Mr. Quarrell, for erecting light-houſes, in order to render the navigation of the coaſt of Cuba and of the Gulf of Mexico ſafer*. The Spaniſh Council were engaged on the ſubject of fixing one at the Havanna, for the particular navigation of that port, but the expence of placing others on the points of the gulf and various channels about Cuba being beyond the actual reſources of the Council, and the objects propoſed being no leſs important to Jamaica than to Cuba, the Spaniſh Government declared their willingneſs to contribute to accompliſh an undertaking of ſo much utility to both nations; and they expreſſed a deſire of knowing the opinion of the moſt experienced and in-

* See p. 76. of this Volume, and Appendix, No. 2.

telligent English mariners respecting the points where the light-houses should be erected, the manner of constructing them, and the expence. A report on the subject was made to the Council of the Havanna by Captain Farquhar, which was given by Mr. Quarrell to the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, who laid it, together with the letter containing the proposal, before the House of Assembly. You will find it annexed to the Marquis's letter*. The subject was referred to a committee, the chairman of which, Mr. Quarrell, reported; that they had taken the opinions of many of the most respectable masters of vessels belonging to the Jamaica trade, from which it appeared that it would be of infinite service to the trade and navigation of Great Britain, if a light-house were erected on the east end of the Grand Camanas, where his Majesty's frigate the Convert went on shore, with seven or eight valuable merchantmen; and that they had no doubt that the Spanish Council of the Havanna

* Appendix, No. 2.

would readily on their part, recommend light-houſes to be built on Cape Antonio and Point Jacko: that the committee thought that the mode of defraying the expences and the management of the light-houſes could only be ſettled in Europe, and they recommended that the agent of the iſland ſhould be inſtructed to lay before his Majeſty's miniſters the great importance of three ſuch light-houſes. The ſubject is at preſent under their conſideration, and the utility of the object is too obvious to leave a doubt of meaſures being purſued to eſtabliſh it.

LETTER XIX.

An Account of ſeveral Modes of Agency.—Danger of the middling and ſmall Planters.—Motions in the Houſe of Aſſembly for taxing Attornies.—Objections anſwered.—Anecdote illuſtrative of the Power of Receivers.—An honeſt Attorney.

I HAVE now to enter upon a painful part of my taſk, a part in which I am under the neceſſity of ſtating ſuch circumſtances as cannot but reflect diſgrace on thoſe who give riſe to them, and from which the weakneſs, I will not uſe a harſher term, of the Legiſlature, is but too apparent. Theſe circumſtances ariſe from the various modes of agency, ſuch as that of the attorney of eſtates, mortgagee in poſſeſſion, receiver in chancery, &c. The firſt of theſe characters requires a definition. By the word attorney, in this ſenſe, is meant agent; and the duties annexed to his office are ſo ſimilar to thoſe of a ſteward in England, that were it not for

for the diſſimilarity of executing them, and the dignity attendant upon the former, I ſhould pronounce them one and the ſame. But as this colonial ſtewardſhip is the ſureſt road to imperial fortune, men of property and diſtinguiſhed ſituation puſh eagerly for it. Attornies are of two ſorts; ſix per cent attornies, and ſalaried attornies: the profits of the former ariſe from commiſſions of ſix per cent. on all the produce of an eſtate, and various interior reſources; the latter are paid a certain ſtipend by ſome unincumbered proprietors, who have lately diſcovered that a ſteward in Jamaica may be hired like a ſteward in England, by which ſeveral thouſand pounds a year are ſaved, and inſtead of enriching their agents, are poured into their own coffers. The office of both is to attend to the eſtates of their employers, and to all their intereſts in the iſland, deputed to them that the proprietors themſelves may live at home, that is to ſay, in Europe.

Of all the evils in the iſland of Jamaica, which call for a remedy, and by means of which the moſt unjuſtifiable practices are continued, the firſt and moſt crying is that of the buſineſs of a certain deſcription of attornies of orphans, mortgagees in poſſeſſion, truſtees, executors, guardians, and receivers under the court of chancery; and theſe evils ariſe in a great meaſure from the unjuſt and impolitic law which allows ſix per cent. commiſſion on the groſs produce of the eſtates under their charge and direction. The iniquitous practices, ſkreened, if not authoriſed, by that law, have long been too glaring to be unnoticed; and attempts have been made to reduce the commiſſion, and to fix it on ſome more equitable principle; but unfortunately there have always been in the Houſe of Aſſembly, too many of its members intereſted in the benefits reſulting from the preſent law to admit the adoption of the meaſure. That the intereſt of attornies is not always the intereſt of thoſe whoſe eſtates they hold, is an undeniable

undeniable fact, of which I think you will be convinced by the time you arrive at the conclusion of this letter. In many instances too, this superior collateral interest militates against the happiness and amelioration of the state and condition of the slaves, which is now professed by the colonists to be an object of their most serious attention; and it proves not unfrequently the total ruin of the unfortunate planter, whose involved situation compels him to submit to the condition of consigning his estate to the management of an attorney appointed by his creditor, who is generally his merchant, and who throws the full legal advantages of his debtor's estate into the hands of his own agent in the island, to compensate for the economical bargain he makes for the management of his own concerns; a practice common also to trustees, guardians, &c. The law allowing such enormous commissions for services so inadequate, is also very defective in an important point; for it establishes no data for fixing the charge of this commission, which is never made according

cording to the ſales of ſugar, for that is not ſoon, if ever known to the attorney. Hence, in the different accounts, the charges are eſtimated on ſugar at ſeveral prices, from twenty ſhillings per cwt. to forty-five, and even fifty ſhillings; and in the ſame books of one and the ſame attorney, theſe charges are found to differ according to his connexion with his employer, generally encreaſing in proportion to the diſtreſs of the property and of the proprietor. To form ſome notion of the advantages attending theſe appointments, and of their injurious tendency to involved proprietors, and even to their creditors, let us ſee what a receiver under the court of chancery can do. In the firſt place, it has not always been the practice to ſelect him from among the inhabitants in the vicinity of the unfortunate eſtates, or from among the friends of the proprietor; he is frequently a reſident in one of the towns, with perhaps as little knowledge of the management of an eſtate, as is poſſeſſed by the ſweeper of the chancery office, and indeed it would not be inappli-

cable

cable to diftinguifh fuch receivers by the appellation of chancery fweepers. Thefe gentlemen feldom if ever fee the eftates which they are to direct, and have no other directions to give, than in a lumping way, to make as much fugar as poffible, and to fhip it, moft likely to their own correfpondents. Whatever the eftates clear is fo much in their hands, and of courfe the more money the better for them; money takes root in every foil, and propagates itfelf a thoufand ways; not a dollar of it therefore finds its way into the chancery-cheft, for the receiver having given fecurity, the treafure is, by a common fiction in ufe, held to be fully as fafe in his hands. While the different creditors of the eftate are fighting the battle of priority, the receiver continues to direct the management of it, to fhip the crop, and to take care of the money. At length a prior debt is eftablifhed, and the creditor having gained the point, remains for a time fatisfied; but finding, though his principal accumulates, that he receives nothing, he becomes clamorous for

a fale.

a ſale. This may take place in five or ſix years time, when all pretexts for delay are worn out, and in the mean time the receiver takes care to have money, adequate to the ſimple ſums received, turned over by his conſignee or merchant to another hand, his banker's, to be ready to anſwer bills to be drawn *on his own account*, for which he muſt have a premium of from twelve to ſeventeen and a half per cent. The eſtate at laſt is advertiſed for ſale by a maſter in chancery, in conſequence of an order from the chancellor. The ſale, however, is ſpun out a year or two longer, till the creditor or his attorney begins to remonſtrate with the maſter: ſtipulations for an amicable ſettlement enſue, that is, for an admiſſion of the receiver's accounts ſuch as they may be, and for time allowed him for payment of the meſne profits or balance in his hands; which agreed to, the ſale is poſitively to take place *when the next crop is over*. The ſale then is actually concluded, the accumulation of theſe annual funds go unperceived to the farther propagation of wealth for the receiver;

ceiver; and the purchaſer, who is no other than the prior creditor, is put in poſſeſſion of an eſtate in ruin, with a gang of negroes diſpirited and miſerable, who had been long ſenſible of their ſituation, conceiving themſelves belonging to nobody, and almoſt deſpairing of ever falling into the hands of a kind maſter, intereſted in their welfare and happineſs. Let us now turn to the attorney of a mortgagee in poſſeſſion, and ſee what better he offers. The debt of the involved eſtate is due to a man of large property, or to a merchant; if to the former, he has a merchant to whom the conſignment is of conſiderable value. It is immaterial what the debt is, an eſtate in poſſeſſion of a mortgagee is generally made to pay full commiſſions to the attorney employed for it. In juſtice to all parties the moſt is to be made of the property, and it is ſoon found that the negroes upon it are not equal to the returns it is capable of making, conſequently hired negroes are added to the plantation-gangs, to plant, weed, and take off the crop: the works are extended, to

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be adequate to the propofed encreafe ; more ftock, more carts are bought, more white people employed. To keep pace with thefe grand defigns, the poor plantation-negroes are of courfe overworked. What is the refult? A great deal of fugar and rum is made, to the credit as well as profit of the attorney, and by which the merchant is benefited, as the configuments are augmented: but fix per cent. intereft on the principal, fix per cent. on that intereft by compound arithmetic become principal, fix per cent. commiffions, with the contingent charges for labour, improvements, ftores, &c. abforb the whole produce, and the planter daily finks under an accumulating debt, till he is completely ruined. The greater the diftrefs, the more the attorney fattens: in a war, for inftance, a confiderable additional benefit occurs; he becomes lumber-merchant, and having the rum of the eftate at his command, and perhaps a little fugar, though in the latter article he is ufually reftricted, as the difpofal of it in the ifland would interfere with the loading of

fhips

ſhips and conſignments, he purchaſes whole-ſale cargoes, and retails them out to the eſtate at a large profit. Staves bought by the attorney at eighteen pounds per thouſand, have been known to be ſold to the eſtate for forty-five pounds per thouſand; and the cart belonging to the property has carried the rum to pay for them. It is well known that the rum made upon an eſtate will ſeldom pay its contingent expences, and that frequently bills are drawn on Great Britain to the amount of one thouſand pounds, and ſometimes two thouſand pounds, for the exceſs of the contingencies over and above the amount of the ſale of the rum: here the attorney finds another avenue of amaſſing for himſelf. Settling the exceſs from his own means, he appropriates the bills which it enabled him to draw, to the purchaſe of the remainder of a cargo of negroes, after the beſt have been culled at the rate of from ninety to ninety-five pounds per head: theſe inferior negroes he diſpoſes of to his dependent overſeers, jobbers, doctors, tradeſmen, diſtillers, and book-

keepers, at forty or fifty pounds a-head profit; nor is it without example, that the very eftates on the credit of which fome of the bills are drawn, have been fupplied with negroes in the fame manner, and at the fame rate. This manœuvre indeed is ventured only on eftates of minors, whofe truftees are merchants in Great Britain, ignorant of fuch practices; or may be, when they have committed the eftates to the attorney, liable to the full advantages to be made of them, to compenfate for the moderate allowance they give for the management of their own concerns. An ifland-merchant, or according to the Weft Indian appellation, ftorekeeper, in great bufinefs, told a friend of mine, that he had fold a cargo of mules at eighteen pounds per head to an attorney, which were difperfed in feparate fpells of eight each to feveral eftates, but that at the fpecial inftance of the purchafer, he had made out the bills of parcels at thirty pounds per head. This does not fpeak much in favour of the virtue of the ftorekeeper, but it muft be obferved that he

would have loſt his cuſtomer had he demurred, and would probably have been conſidered as righteous over-much. There is a variety of ſmaller advantages enjoyed by the attorney, ſuch as forming connexions with butchers who may purchaſe the fatted cattle, with jobbers of negroes for the purpoſe of intermingling negroes at a proportionable profit, fattening horſes, and a long *et cetera.* To the attorney the commanders of the ſhips in the trade look up with due reſpect, and as they are proper perſons to ſpeak of him to the merchant, their good will is not neglected. To the involved planter their language often is, "Sir, I muſt have your ſugars down at the wharf directly:" that is, your ſugars are to make the loweſt tier, to ſtand the chance of being waſhed out ſhould the ſhip leak or make much water in a bad paſſage. When they addreſs an attorney, they do not aſk for ſugars, but his favours, as to quantity and time; and his hogſheads form the upper tier. The ſalaried attorney alſo receives great reſpect from the maſters of ſhips, but

the high airs and rapid flights to fortune of the ſix per centers are out of his walk. He is often a plain plodding man, who having ſerved planters in the capacity of an overſeer, is promoted with an increaſe of ſalary to the office of attorney, which he holds very well and very properly with the other, anſwering all the purpoſes of a greater man. He ſhips good crops, and keeps contingencies low, till praiſed by the proprietor, and recommended to his friends, he begins to be vain and grows great. He then proves fallible; the concentrated induſtry confined with advantage to one eſtate, is evaporated by the glow of ſucceſs and extenſion of care; he is diſmiſſed by one, employed by others, and at length either falls back to his level, or goes ſtark mad with pride. It has been often ſaid in Jamaica, that the great planters will ſwallow up the ſmall ones; and that middling planters will dwindle and go in their turn. There is nothing abſurd in the idea, which by the help of great attornies may be realized, nor are the opulent themſelves ſafe from the pervading

influence of this incalculable evil. But where is the remedy? none; but in an alteration of the law, a ſtrict eye kept by proprietors over their attornies, and a reſolution of the British merchants to preſerve the ſmall and middling planters, the reduction of whom diminiſhes the ſecurity of the country. The alteration of the law ſhould take place in two points; the commiſſions of attornies, &c. ſhould be reduced, and they ſhould themſelves be diſqualified from being members of the Legiſlature. If men, whoſe individual intereſts not only often militate againſt thoſe of the proprietor, whom they ſhould ſerve and labour to reſcue from deſtruction, but ſometimes claſh with the general intereſts of the iſland, which are made ſubordinate to them, poſſeſs a preponderance in the power of legiſlation; and if men who are the ſinews of a country are depreſſed and ruined, be the ſplendour of that country what it may, its ſituation muſt be deplorable. Thoſe merchants of Great Britain, who ſupport the preſent ſyſtem of attorneyſhip in the Weſt Indies,

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and who are fond of aiding the enormous and deſtructive ſchemes of the overgrown planter, in preference to eſtabliſhing the independence of the middling claſs, are actuated by a ſhort ſighted policy; their chief object ſhould be the general welfare of the iſland, and they will ultimately find that the aggrandizement of attornies, and the confluence of immenſe properties, are not the means which wiſdom ſuggeſts for its proſperity or ſecurity.

The general diſtreſs of a large accumulated debt, the conſequence of the Maroon war, compelled the Houſe of Aſſembly to reſort to every mode they could deviſe of raiſing money for liquidating it. It was propoſed by ſome very opulent man, a great attorney, to raiſe the whole amount of the debt in one year; but the circumſtances of others could not poſſibly admit of it: the taxes were raiſed as high as could be borne in general, but as large compenſations were to be made to individuals for their loſſes, money was taken up on the ſecurity of the iſland at an

intereſt of ten per cent. In the diſtreſs for ways and means, the planters being burdened with as great a weight as moſt could bear, it was obſerved that attornies, mortgagees, and truſtees in poſſeſſion, guardians, receivers and ſequeſtrators, enjoyed large incomes by commiſſions, without contributing to the public fund for expences; and a motion was made, to the immortal honour of the mover*, for the purpoſe of their being aſſeſſed ten per cent. upon their commiſſions. The records of the country, on examination, aſcertained that theſe gentlemen, one hundred and ninety-three in number, held in charge ſix hundred and ſix ſugar works, which produced 76,843 hhds. and 3987 tierces of ſugar, and 35,891 puncheons of rum. This produce, at the rate of 40 *l.* per hhd. and 25 *l.* per puncheon, the propoſed ſtandard for that period, with the ſale of ſtock and other articles, yielded 4,022,460 *l.* on which there was chargeable by law a commiſſion of ſix per cent. giving an income of 241,347 *l.* 19 *s.* 6 *d.* produc-

* John M'Clean Eſq.

tive of a tax of 24,134 *l.* in aid of the public exigencies. The motion for inſtructing the Committee to make the tax a part of the money-bill was carried by the majority of a ſingle vote *, but when the bill was reported to the houſe, and the inſertion of the propoſed clauſe moved, it was oppoſed, and the attornies, who held a decided majority in the Aſſembly, having collected their force, it was rejected by ſeventeen votes againſt thirteen. As ſome reaſoning was thought neceſſary to palliate the rejection of a meaſure, the juſtice of which was obvious to the common ſenſe of mankind, it was ſaid, 1ſt, that the tax would be a partial one: 2dly, why not at the ſame time tax merchants, tradeſmen, and others? 3dly, the tax would operate as a double one on eſtates. Theſe objections were eaſily anſwered; 1ſt, the partiality lay in the exemption of theſe gentlemen, all others being taxed: for, 2dly, merchants, tradeſmen and others were taxed on their trade and by the poll-tax;

* Votes of the Aſſembly.

3dly, the charge could never operate as a double tax where the ſix per cent. law prevailed; and the rich independent men, who, by employing ſalaried attornies, ſnatch out of the fire of that law large ſums, ought chearfully to give the mite out of ſuch ſavings required by the propoſed tax: nay, it was ſaid, in this caſe, to operate as a juſt mode of aſſeſſing the wealthy abſentee, who it was allowed ſhould compenſate from his purſe for the abſence of his perſon, ſo far as relates to the protection of his property by military ſervice. Beſides, let us ſee how an unincumbered man, who has it in his power to nullify the ſix per cent. law, ſtands. Take an eſtate of five hundred hogſheads of ſugar, and two hundred and fifty puncheons of rum; at a moderate computation the commiſſions will amount to 1200 *l.*; the attorney compounding for 600 *l.* will have 60 *l.* to pay, and the proprietor 60 *l.* out of 600 *l.* ſaved and added to an income which may be fairly eſtimated at from 7000 *l.* to 10000 *l.* ſterling.

Before I conclude this letter, I will relate an anecdote which will illuſtrate the ſubjects of it, more than a volume of reflexions. A gentleman, who had long been a merchant in Kingſton, and who was afterwards a cuſtos of one of the pariſhes of the county of Middleſex, had for many years lived in the cloſeſt friendſhip and intimacy with another merchant of the ſame town, who traded to Liverpool, where he afterwards eſtabliſhed an eminent commercial houſe. The cuſtos, ſo let me call him, though it was not till afterwards he roſe to that dignity, originally kept a ſmall ſtore or ſhop, in Kingſton; which enabling him to provide a good table was the foundation of the attachment of the Liverpool man, who was alſo, at the commencement of their friendſhip, a ſmall ſtore-keeper. Unluckily for that friendſhip they became rivals; both loſt their hearts to one lady, who preferred and married the cuſtos; a ſucceſs that never was to be forgiven by the rejected lover, who, however, preſerved the

the ſemblance of attachment to his friend, till a fatal opportunity occurred of ſtriking a deadly blow. In the courſe of buſineſs the cuſtos, as attorney, became poſſeſſed of ſome demands, in right of others, upon an eſtate which lay very remote from his reſidence, and againſt which a bill was filed. It was taken under the protection of the court of chancery, and the cuſtos, coming forward as a conſiderable creditor, was appointed receiver. In this ſituation the eſtate remained about thirty years, during which time, the receiver managed to buy up for himſelf moſt of the other claims upon it. He worked a gang of his own negroes on it, and proceeded in the routine neceſſary to ſwallow it up; but in ſpite of every thing, the perverſe and obſtinate ſoil abſolutely cleared it of its incumbrances. This, however, was known only to the cuſtos, for the original proprietor was dead, and the perſons to whom the eſtate lawfully belonged, had long ceaſed to think of a property of which the only thing they had ever heard was, that it was ruined,

ruined, and irrecoverably gone. The cuſtos at length unboſomed himſelf to his friend the Liverpool man, whom he commiſſioned to find out the proprietors, and to purchaſe their title for him at the moſt moderate price. The eſtate had been ſettled on the original proprietor's daughter and heireſs, who had married a poor clergyman in Cheſhire or Lancaſhire. The remote and obſcure reſidence of this couple was diſcovered, but the reverſion of the eſtate being veſted in their ſon, who wanted two years of being of age, a delay was made till the buſineſs could be puſhed and concluded at once, without giving a notice, which in the courſe of two years might have led to an enquiry that muſt have defeated the object. The delay, however, proved no leſs deſtructive to the cuſtos's ſcheme; for the Liverpool man, chewing the cud of diſappointed love, betrayed his friend, and made his ſecret the means of arranging ſome private plans, and of advancing his own intereſts. The lands in queſtion lay between two very valuable eſtates of a man

of

of moſt opulent fortune, who was one of the Liverpool man's correſpondents. Such a range of rich ſoil was in itſelf a moſt deſirable object to the poſſeſſor of a contiguous property, but it was beſides rendered of ineſtimable value to him, from its containing a part of the bed of the river, which afterwards ran through his own eſtate and turned his mills. He had always caſt his eye upon it, and was determined if poſſible to obtain it at any price. The knowledge of this beſet the imagination of the Liverpool man, who having ſome delicate arrangements to make with the rich man, in which his own intereſt was concerned, determined to make him, and not the cuſtos, the maſter of it, for little or nothing; by which he ſmoothed ſome untoward occurrences, and ſecured the conſignment of a thouſand hogſheads of ſugar, which he had ſome grounds for fearing would be taken from him. Having made his conditions, he unravelled the plot, to the rapturous aſtoniſhment of his correſpondent, a few months before the clergyman's ſon

came

came of age. Too impatient to wait, the happy correspondent flew immediately to the poor dwelling of the unconscious heiress, and having properly introduced the subject to the clergyman, offered two thousand five hundred guineas for the title. Little less enraptured than the gentleman himself, the clergyman declared that he thought it a very bold offer for an expectation which he had long considered of no value. The gentleman assured him, that as he had the means of going to law, he meant, if he became the purchaser, to run all risks, and to spare no expence in recovering the estate. The overjoyed couple, who could not see through the mass of two thousand five hundred guineas any thing half so substantial in the clouded prospect of a West Indian property, were eager to conclude the bargain, and by legal instruments of conveyance disposed of their rights; and shortly after, their son coming of age, the full title in fee was made over to the purchaser, who taking all his measures by the Liverpool man's advice, lost no time in

eſtabliſhing his acquired title. He haſtened to Jamaica, and at a conſiderable expence brought the receiver to an account. The cuſtos was all amazement, and not being able to pay the amount of the balance in his hands, not only gave up the eſtate to the purchaſer, but alſo made over a large tract of land belonging to himſelf in the eaſtern part of the country. The eſtate has been conſolidated and improved, and is now one of the firſt properties of its ſize in the iſland.

I muſt not omit to ſtate to you, that acts have been paſſed, and amended, for obliging attornies and other agents to record accounts of crops, to prevent frauds. Like ſome other laws of the colonies, however, they catch the eye and ſound well, but *præterea nihil;* the obligation to record a crop is no obligation to make a good one, nor does it diminiſh the facility of the ruinous ſyſtem you have been contemplating.

And

And now let me warn you againſt thinking, after the peruſal of this letter, that there is no ſuch thing to be found in the Weſt Indies as an honeſt attorney. My ſole intention was to expoſe to you what certain agents have it in their power to do, and what is too often done by them; but while I am writing I have in my recollection a worthy and honorable man, who was for a ſeries of years engaged as an attorney to abſentees, whoſe properties were improved by his honeſty, aſſiduity, and good ſenſe. I would not ſcruple to name him, but that the diſtinction might ſeem to be injuſtice to ſome others, who, I believe, are equally entitled to a ſimilar tribute of applauſe.

LETTER XX.

State of Opinions respecting the Slave-Trade.—Internal Legislation established in the Hands of the Colonists by Custom and Reason.—Contrasted Statements.—Suggestion of a Mode for obtaining Negroes in Africa.—Observations respecting the Population of Creole-Blacks, and the Attempt of cultivating Sugar-Plantations by free Negroes.—Present State of Slavery in Jamaica.—Defects of the Colonial System.—Difficulty of remedying some of them.—Religion.

No colonial subject has more engaged the attention of the public in the course of the last ten years, than the slave-trade and slavery. All the feelings of the heart, and all the deductions of reason, have been called forth in support of the adverse opinions on these points. What on the one side has been stated as unjust, inhuman, and horrible, has on the other been argued to be the result of the present state of nature, wisdom, and true philanthropy. With the picture of the struggles and lamenta-

lamentations of human creatures torn from their country, their homes, and dearest ties, to be hurried to a land of slavery and inhumanity, has been contrasted the display of the advantages accruing to men snatched from the most deplorable state of barbarism, often from a savage execution, to be reclaimed and employed in peaceful industry *. To enter into an extensive discussion of the dispute on these topics is foreign to my design, for I only profess to show you the present state of things in the colony, and I shall therefore restrain myself chiefly to what has lately occurred, and to novel suggestions, adding occasional remarks that appear to me con-

* The slave-trade, in spite of the unpopular light into which it was thrown, had many able and worthy advocates, among whom the Duke of Clarence was uncommonly strenuous. The Assembly of Jamaica, to evince their gratitude, voted three thousand guineas to purchase a service of plate to be presented to his Royal Highness. Nor did they forget to acknowledge their obligation to their agent, Mr. Sewell, who exerted himself on the subject with distinguished abilities: they voted a thousand guineas to purchase him a piece of plate, in testimony of the sense they entertained of his important services.

ducive to future utility. The perſeverance of the friends to an abolition of the ſlave-trade to effect it has been unremitted, and has from time to time excited great alarm among the coloniſts, who have not only laid before the public general arguments derived from the ſtate of nature and from the goſpel*, but have roundly and boldly inſiſted on the right of obtaining negroes from Africa. To the King, in an addreſs written in 1797, they ſaid, "We can with truth aſſure your Majeſty, that no opportunity, no circumſtance, which may enable the Aſſembly of Jamaica to make further proviſions, to ſecure to every perſon in the iſland, the certain, immediate, and active protection of the law, in proportion to their improvement in morality and religion, ſhall be neglected; but we muſt at the ſame time declare, that we are actuated by motives of humanity only, and not with any view to the termination

* See a very ſtrong, perhaps unanſwerable, letter, addreſſed to the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and publiſhed in the Supplement of Cobbett's Annual Regiſter, Vol. I. of 1802.

 of

of the slave-trade. The right of obtaining labourers from Africa is secured to your Majesty's faithful subjects in the colony, by several British acts of parliament, and by several proclamations of your Majesty's royal ancestors; they, or their predecessors, have emigrated and settled in Jamaica, under the most solemn promises of this absolutely necessary assistance; and they can never give up, or do any act that may render doubtful, this essential right." The colonists, however, while they took every occasion to defend the principle of the slave-trade, and to maintain their right to carry it on, were ready to condemn all cruelty practised in the course of it, and eager to remove every hardship to which the negroes were liable in the passage from Africa. With a view of promoting the humane and beneficent objects of the British legislature in that point, and of obviating one of the causes that impeded the natural increase of the negroes, the Assembly passed a law, granting the King a duty, so heavy as to operate as a pro-

hibition, on all imported negroes above twenty-five years of age. Still the total abolition of the trade was constantly aimed at, and when direct means were not adopted, consequential ones were thought of. The colonists saw, or thought they saw, grounds for apprehending that with this view his Majesty's ministers had in contemplation, by an act of the British legislature, to resume all patents of land granted and not settled, which, by preventing the extension of the cultivation of the colony, would lead to the gradual and complete abolition of the slave-trade, as the further importation of Africans would become less necessary; upon which they boldly declared, that the measure would be a direct violation of those rights they were entitled to as British subjects, and that it was incumbent on the people of Jamaica to resist it by all possible lawful means *. They asserted that they were enabled

* This resistance could not mean a struggle of physical strength, but the opposition of moral, and as expressly worded,

enabled by their conſtitution to legiſlate for themſelves in all matters relating to internal concerns, a right which they had enjoyed for upwards of a century; and that the principle, though not publicly recognized by an act of parliament, had nevertheleſs been deemed, by all wiſe and juſt characters in Great Britain, to exiſt in full force, and that parliament had no right to infringe or abridge it, by enacting any law for their internal regulation. The miniſter having declared that the further increaſe of negro population in the colony would prove highly dangerous to the white inhabitants from the inequality of the numbers, a committee of the Houſe of Aſſembly ſtated it to be their opinion, that the judgment he had formed was

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worded, legal means; not a recourſe to arms, but to petition and remonſtrance; and, therefore, did not call for ſo harſh a compariſon as that made by an animated champion of negro liberty, who ſaid, "The palſied bed-ridden patient might as rationally threaten violence to his nurſe, for putting ſuſtenance into his mouth." Though, to have made the ſimile complete, he ſhould rather have ſaid, "for taking his ſuſtenance out of his mouth."

erroneous

erroneous in the extreme; for that nothing could ſo greatly contribute to the increaſe of white population, and that too of the deſcription likely to be moſt uſeful for the ſecurity of the country, as the encouragement of ſmall ſettlers in the interior, an obſervation which has been confirmed by experience; and that were the proſpects of acquiring property in land, and negroes taken away, no perſons in whom confidence could be placed would adventure to the country, conſequently it would ſoon become impoſſible to carry on plantations to any extent, and the moſt uſeful white population required for agricultural purpoſes would be reduced to a very alarming degree, from which it was evident that the internal ſafety of the iſland, inſtead of being promoted by an abolition of the trade, would be very highly endangered.

The right of internal legiſlation aſſerted by the committee, was examined with ſome aſperity, and in a language bordering upon inſult, by an ingenious writer, who

 has

has caught that calenture of the heart, which proceeds from a fermenting benevolence, and which raiſes a fairy ground about the State veſſel, tempting the patients to plunge from the deck into a fathomleſs ocean. He has endeavoured to ſhow that the ſtatutes of Great Britain on colonial ſubjects are all hoſtile to this claim, and he aſſerts it to be a monſtrous poſition that the mother country may not interpoſe and correct the evils that may ariſe from internal colonial regulations. To this the Weſt Indians have to anſwer, that they did not build their claim on the ſtatute law, but on rational uſage for more than a century; that the act of William the Third, declaring laws made in the colonies repugnant to Engliſh ſtatutes extending to or naming them void, could only allude to ſtatutes generally, and could have no reference to the conſtitutional uſage of the colony, in which it made no alteration; that the Declaratory law (the ſixth of George the Third) aſſerting a parliamentary right to legiſlate for the colonies in all

all cafes whatever, was counteracted by a fubfequent act (eighteenth of George the Third) as to taxation, and had never been acted upon in cafes of interior government, in which the colonial ufage conftantly prevailed; that this Declaratory act was particularly directed againft the turbulent fpirit that manifefted itfelf in North America; that the word *legiflate*, however ftrengthened by the addition of *in all cafes whatever*, could not be taken in a fenfe replete with abfurdity, namely, to legiflate without a fufficient knowledge of the fubject on which the parliament undertook to legiflate, which muft be the cafe in all local laws; and that admitting the power of the mother-country to interfere in the internal regulations of the colony, it was but common juftice, when they did fo, to appoint a committee of the legiflature to go and refide a certain time on the fpot, to inveftigate the nature of the bufinefs propofed, and to decide fairly, from experience, queftions obfcured, at the diftance of four thoufand miles, by impervious

 clouds

clouds of paſſion and contradictory teſtimony.

I ſtate to you the more freely and the more ſtrongly the reaſoning in favour of the coloniſts, as I am ſenſible of an ardent tendency in my heart to diſapprove the ſlave-trade; but while our feelings riſe up in arms againſt the horrid tales that have been laid before the public, let us not ſhut our ears to the reaſoning of the planter, becauſe he ſpeaks from ſelf-intereſt, and becauſe ſelf-intereſt may create prejudices. Self-intereſt is no criminal motive, although the means of promoting it may be vicious. Let us ſupport philanthropy on both ſides. Free men are kidnapped, and wars are excited to procure captives; families are ſeparated, and wretched victims are conſigned to ſuffocation in a loathſome tranſport, forced acroſs the ocean, and ſold for life to mercileſs tyrants. If this be true, Oh! that the Omnipotence aſcribed to the Britiſh parliament may eradicate theſe evils, and puniſh the perpetrators of them! Amen,

ſay the planters. In certain uncivilized regions of the globe, there are immenſe numbers of wretched black men exiſting ſlaves to barbarians of their own colour, plunged in ignorance, and ſubject to all the wanton cruelties and miſeries of ſavage tyranny *. In viſiting thoſe coaſts to promote the intereſts of European colonies, and conſequently of Europe, the coloniſts reſcue theſe unfortunate blacks from a ſtate of horrid and ſavage ſlavery, to place them in a mild and civilized ſtate of ſervitude; they ſnatch them from the moſt degrading idolatry, and lead them to the benevolent ſyſtem of the goſpel of Chriſt. In doing this, care is taken to part no happy families, to break no kindred ties, to ſeize

No ſportive negro, panting at the line,
Who boaſts of golden ſands and palmy wine,
Who liſtleſs baſks, or ſtems the tepid wave,
And, born to freedom, ſcorns to be a ſlave.

If this be true, long may ſelf-intereſt combine with nobler motives to continue to

* Tyrant and ſlave is the only government among ſavages.

improve the condition and the happineſs of this race of men! If this be true, ſay amen, ye who have in a great degree confirmed the aſſertion, by ſubſcribing your names to a report in which it appears that the feeble-minded and debauched tyrants of Africa ſell their ſlaves *; and in which it alſo appears that free negroes are not to be depended upon for cultivation †. Contraſted

* We are told in the report of May 1802, reſpecting Sierra Leone, "that whoever can poſſeſs himſelf of a few ſlaves, may become the head of a town, that ſucceſs in raiſing rice, and in trading, enables this head-man to encreaſe the number of his ſlaves, and conſequently his ſtrength and influence; that many freemen then ſeek his protection, and put themſelves under his government: that in this way ſome of the moſt conſiderable towns in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone have ariſen in the courſe of a ſingle generation. "A feeble-minded or debauched ſucceſſor," ſay the reporters, "by ſelling, under a variety of pretexts, (moſt of which the ſuperſtition of his country ſupply,) thoſe whom in policy as well as in juſtice he ought to protect, deſtroys in a ſtill ſhorter period, the power which has been thus raiſed." *See a report of a Committee of the Houſe of Commons appointed to examine the petition of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, May 25th, 1802.*

† "The Nova Scotians and Maroons are not likely to employ their own lots of lands in the production of any material

traſted ſtatements like the above, confound the underſtanding, and ſuſpend the judgment: but when we ſee the experience of the oppoſite parties concurring in the two following points, that the ſlavery of Africa is worſe than that of the Weſt Indies, and that free negroes will not cultivate the earth farther than to obtain a coarſe and ſcanty ſupply for immediate neceſſity, we may be forgiven if the idea ſhould come acroſs our minds, that the ſlave-trade may be made a bleſſing, if it be not already one. I advance this, however, with ſome awe, for I am aware how unpopular the ſide it ſeems to take. And let me not be miſtaken. God forbid that I ſhould ſupport a poſition of which the object were to diminiſh the happineſs of my fellow creatures! If that be really the effect of the ſlave-trade, may the

terial quantity of articles of exportable produce, for though they have at different times cultivated ground to a conſiderable extent, no great dependence can be placed on their ſteady purſuit of any agricultural plans." *See the report of a Committee of the Houſe of Commons of 25th May* 1802.

Omniſcient

Omniſcient and Omnipotent Being to whom the truth is known, grant that a ſtop may be immediately put to it! But, leſt it ſhould be a bleſſing in itſelf, leſt the abolition of it ſhould not only prove ruin to the planter, but a curſe to Africa, by arreſting the improvement of the lot of many thouſands of its inhabitants, let not the omnipotence of parliament, which never can be accompanied by omniſcience, aggregate bodies being doomed, like individuals, to ſee through a glaſs darkly, proceed to ſtop a ſource of certain good, before the greater evil be aſcertained beyond diſpute. The coloniſts affirm that the ſlave trade, far from being cruel and improper, "is conſiſtent with charity and the beſt feelings of humanity*;" and that free negroes will not heartily engage in agriculture. Theſe poſitions ſeem to derive conſiderable ſupport

* See a diſpaſſionate, ſenſible LETTER ON THE SLAVE TRADE, addreſſed to Lord Penryhn, chairman of the meeting of Weſt-India planters, held on the 3d of May 1800. By a Weſt-India proprietor. Publiſhed by Cawthorn, Strand.

from

from the incidental, unintentional confeſſions of their antagoniſts already cited. However diſguſting, therefore, the pictures preſented to us of a traffic of human creatures, it is incumbent upon us to ſhut our eyes to the magic of the pencil, to guard our imagination againſt the obeah of poetry, and to appeal to homely fact and unerring experience for the ground of action. The mild and humane Weſt-Indian, whoſe letter I have juſt quoted, after ſhowing the mutual benefit of the ſlave-trade to Africa and the colonies, recommends, in a genuine ſpirit of philanthropy, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent from England to the principal ports in Africa, there to make regulations for the treatment of the ſlaves when received, and whilſt on their paſſage to the Weſt Indies. The report of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons of May 1802, furniſhes grounds for improving upon this idea. Let the headmen of the towns there mentioned, be induced by advantages to enter into a rational ſpirit of the trade. Let humane regulations be preſented to them

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by the propoſed commiſſioners for the obtaining of negroes; let the nature of colonial agriculture in its improved ſtate be fairly explained, let the negroes to be imported be informed of the tenure of their ſervice, and not ſuffered, as is ſaid, to imagine that they are purchaſed like cattle to be eaten. It is perhaps not impoſſible by proper means to produce ſuch an effect among the poor Africans, as not only to make them ſet out on the voyage with cheerfulneſs, but contend for the preference of removal. Men convinced that the change is from a perpetual abject life of ſavage ſlavery, to mild ſervitude and a comfortable and ſecure exiſtence, would probably be as eager in Africa for emigration as the poor and diſtreſſed of any country. To perfect this plan, might be a work of time, but not of ſuch length, by centuries, as the internal civilization of Africa, laudably originally, but fondly, undertaken by the Sierra Leone Company. It would perhaps not be unworthy the conſideration of that Company, on finding that they had taken a wrong

ground

ground in their purſuits of humanity, to change it for one leſs brilliant, but promiſing more ſubſtantial happineſs to the race of man; and ſince univerſal liberty has been lately ſo fully proved to be a phantom, to join cordially with the commiſſioners recommended, in eſtabliſhing humane modes of obtaining negroes from Africa, for the ſhips that come for that purpoſe to the coaſt; and to remove the great objection to the trade, which ariſes from the encouragement that it may give to acts of violence, oppreſſion, and fraud among the natives towards each other. Were they to do this, inſtead of a colony exiſting in perpetual dread of being ſlaughtered; inſtead of wars with King Jemmy and the Timmanies, and other ſavage tribes; inſtead of owing their exiſtence, as a company, chiefly to the difficulty the government feels itſelf under, of finding a proper place for the Maroons and Nova Scotians *, they would flouriſh, they would

* See the evidence ſupporting the Report of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons of May 25, 1802.

have it in their power to meliorate the lot of their fellow creatures; thousands and tens of thousands of miserable men would be at their election to bless in this life, and save eternally. If any one be inclined to think that I mean to ridicule or insult the Sierra Leone Company, he does me injustice: believing their motives to be pure, I admire and respect them; my feelings, I am sensible, are in some respect similar to theirs; but reason is stubborn, and sentiments that flow from impulses of the heart, however amiable, must be corrected by the decisions of the understanding. I should, indeed, deem it a gross and unpardonable insult to the Sierra Leone Company, did I in jest advise them to become slave-merchants, and undertake the very thing they reprobate, to remove men from freedom and happiness to slavery and misery. No: I would have them what they wish to be, the guardians of humanity, the promoters of rational felicity: and certainly they would not answer this description, were they to make the change I have dared to suggest,

if they were not completely ſeconded by the coloniſts, and by the internal colonial arrangements which ſhould prove, that a "mild ſervitude, under humane regulations, is the ſyſtem beſt adapted to make the people removed happy in themſelves, and uſeful inhabitants of the earth *." This naturally leads us to take a view of the preſent ſtate of ſlavery in Jamaica, to which I ſhall proceed after making a few obſervations on two points, more immediately connected with the ſubject of the ſlave-trade; the adequate encreaſe of a Creole population, and the practicability of cultivating by free negroes. The cauſes that reſtrain the population of the negroes in the Weſt Indies, have been impartially ſtated by Mr. Edwards. The coloniſts in improving the condition of their ſlaves, have certainly taken the beſt means to promote the encreaſe of Creole births, but till cohabitation ſhall be better regulated, and polygamy, or rather the appropriation of ſeveral

* Weſt India Proprietor's letter to Lord Penryhn.

women by head negroes abolished, which can only be by the introduction of christianity, and the laws of marriage, there can be no hope of any great alteration in this particular; though it is a known fact, that on some estates the population does increase: but even were all impediments removed, there could not be so rapid an encrease of population as to afford a prospect of settling the country without a supply of Africans. With respect to cultivation by free negroes, how little acquainted must they be with the negro character who can be led to believe that free negroes would, or could carry on the variety of work necessary upon a sugar estate. In Africa, the little cultivation undertaken near the coasts for trade, is carried on by slaves; and we have seen in a committee of the House of Commons, the chief supporters of African liberty despair of any great attention to agriculture from two considerable bodies of free negroes, which one would imagine decisive of the question. There never was an instance of a free negro

hiring himſelf to work as a plantation-negro. In the inſtances I have given of the Maroons, in a former letter, their labour was confined to the cutting down the woods, and clearing and planting the land; which they undertook for a ſpecific ſum, and performed at their leiſure when they wiſhed to ſupply ſome immediate want: but no Maroon or free negro ever did engage himſelf to cut canes, load carts, drive mules, carry traſh, or ſtoke; and of upwards of ſix hundred of the Trelawney Town Maroons, not more than forty or fifty ever undertook any work but for themſelves, and that with nothing of the regularity requiſite on a ſugar-plantation. Of the ten thouſand free people of colour and blacks in Jamaica, not ten would be tempted even by a dollar a day, to engage in the employments I have mentioned. Beſides, cattle-keepers, watchmen, and negroes of other occupations, muſt neceſſarily be attached to the eſtate. Add to this, that there would be no redreſs on any loſs that might ariſe from negligence;

 and

and the free man might leave his master's service at a moment's warning *.

Let us now contemplate slavery as it stands under the consolidated law of Jamaica, and let us consider what yet remains to be done, to accomplish the relative happiness of the body of black people in the West Indies, in that state to which it has pleased God to call them.

What! God call men to a state of slavery? Be not surprised, my friend; I have not recanted my former opinions; I am still an enemy to the very name of slavery. I would have all men free; I would have all men virtuous, religious, and happy. I would

* Among the happy, free, and equal inhabitants of the United States of America, they turn liberty in this respect to an excellent account. Servants not only quit their master's service without warning, but before they enter it demand a reference for his character. I was at a gentleman's house in one of the principal towns of the United States, when a negro applying for his place, asked of whom he should inquire the gentleman's character.

banish vice from the moral world, and evil from the natural one. I would make earth a paradise, and I would in succession translate men to regions of greater bliss to all eternity. What think you? is not this better than the unintelligible mode chosen by Providence, for the conduct of his operations? am I not intitled to the gratitude of mankind for being so much more consistent than the ruler of the universe? But my reveries will alter none of his mandates; and that what he permits will ultimately appear to support the system of infinite wisdom, I humbly acknowledge. That he has permitted slavery cannot be denied by those who allow his superintendence: he has permitted it, as he has permitted other evils; these it is the part of man to counteract and alleviate. He is not forbidden to do so, and it is a part of his duty; but he must do it wisely, to do it well; he must do it wisely, or he will increase instead of mitigating the evil. I should think it no inconsistency in him who advises a general emancipation as the re-

medy of this evil, to adviſe amputation for the gout. I am the enemy of tyranny, and the friend of happineſs; an enemy to that ſlavery, "which implies the degradation of animated nature into a monſtrous machinery wound up and kept in motion by torture;" and a friend to that happineſs which reſults from virtue, and which every man, "whether he be bond or free," muſt owe to the all-wiſe diſpoſer of events. Let us not quarrel about words, nor excite the enthuſiaſm of men to contend for ſhadows. Let us equally avoid inflaming the minds of any claſs of people with pictures of unattainable enjoyments, while we endeavour to render the yoke eaſy, and the burden light. Liberty and independence are very vague terms: there is no ſuch thing as abſolute independence; and ſociety is itſelf peculiarly a ſtate of various degrees of dependencies, in which the lot of ſome, conſidered in a temporal point of view, is apparently a miſerable condition when compared to the enjoyments allotted to others of the human race. To attempt to equalize hap-

pineſs

pineſs by compariſon with more favoured ſituations of life, is to deſtroy the baſis of it, content. Of the great maſs of mankind, content and hope are the ſources of felicity: the diſtinctions beſtowed by fortune are comparatively in the hands of few, and if none are to be happy while others are more fortunate and happier, life would indeed be but ſcenes of confuſion and miſery. But even in a comparative view, the condition of the ſlaves in Jamaica does not rank the loweſt or moſt unfortunate. In the moſt enlightened quarter of the world, in Europe, a great portion of mankind are in a ſtate of miſery far more deplorable than what is to be found among the Weſt-Indian blacks; and perhaps in England itſelf, the compariſon might in ſome inſtances turn out in favour of the Weſt Indies. The compariſons have been already made, nor is it my intention to repeat them here at large; I only mean to attribute ſlavery, like all other conditions of life, to the operations of Divine Providence, and to conſider the negroes as in a ſtate to which it has pleaſed

God to call them. In that ſtate much has been done, and much may yet be done, to render their exiſtence comfortable, and in a conſiderable degree happy; but a ſudden tranſition from that ſtate to the degree of independence enjoyed by their maſters, would rather be to plunge them into miſery than to extricate them from it. Again I beg you to believe me a friend to real liberty; but happineſs is our ſubject, and if the queſtion be, whether there can be any without liberty, thereby meaning the uncontrolled direction of time and employment, I have no ſcruple in affirming that in the preſent ſtate of human nature, and particularly among the blacks, the want of liberty is not inconſiſtent with a portion of happineſs ſuperior to what is enjoyed by many who are deemed free: not the happineſs of educated minds, but what is generally termed happineſs in the maſs of mankind, a certainty of being provided for through life, and agreeable feelings in their intercourſe among themſelves. Slavery, in the manner it has exiſted, muſt be an abomination to every man who has

any degree of feeling or underſtanding, but as it is capable of being modified, and as it is modified by humane maſters, it preſents not thoſe horrors which ſome lively imaginations and good hearts attach to it. That the ſtate of it in the Weſt Indies previous to the time of our preſent inquiry, was inconſiſtent in many reſpects with the principles of humanity, there is ample teſtimony. In the conſideration of avarice, the welfare of the negro was too frequently forgotten; labour was puſhed to an enormous exceſs, and the modes of coercion were diſgraceful and barbarous. But there was alſo a number of good maſters at all times, and theſe generally were the Weſt-Indians themſelves; for, ſtrange as it is, the cruelties we have ſo much reprobated, were chiefly to be charged to Europeans, not indeed men of refined education, but ſucceſsful adventurers. It is not, however, my taſk to expoſe a monſter no longer exiſting, let us therefore turn from the paſt, and take a view of the preſent condition of the negroes in Jamaica.

The negroes are the labourers of the country; their working does not depend upon their will, nor is it the result of their immediate corporeal necessities, but, in consequence of their relative situation, they are called upon to cultivate the soil, and perform every business enjoined them, as a duty; and this duty they are compelled to perform. The mode of labouring is adapted to the nature of the culture in which they are engaged, and is much the same as described in the succinct history of Jamaica. In the colonial laws relative to them, we see the following regulations and ordinances: Masters, who are proprietors of lands, are obliged to allot and appoint a sufficient quantity of land for every slave he has, and allow him sufficient time for working it, and are moreover bound to have other grounds, at least one acre for every ten negroes, planted in ground-provisions for the use of his slaves; and every planter neglecting the care of these grounds, forfeits fifty pounds. Masters who have no lands, are obliged to provide for

the maintenance of their negroes by ſome other means. All owners are bound to keep their ſick, aged, or diſabled negroes, and to provide them with wholeſome neceſſaries of life; to clothe them every year; and to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian religion. Perſons mutilating negroes are to be fined and impriſoned; and in very atrocious caſes, where the owners are convicted of the offence, the ſlaves ſo abuſed are to be made free, and the fine of a hundred pounds paid to the veſtry of the pariſh, who in conſideration thereof, is to pay the enfranchiſed negro ten pounds a-year during his life; and the juſtices and veſtry are appointed a council of protection for ſuch ſlaves. Whoever wantonly, willingly, or bloody-mindedly, kills, or cauſes to be killed, any ſlave, is to ſuffer death without benefit of clergy. Whoever wantonly or cruelly, whips, maltreats, beats, bruiſes, wounds, or confines, without ſufficient ſupport, any ſlave or ſlaves, is liable to fine and impriſonment. All arbitrary puniſhment is reſtrained ſo far, that if the

crime

crime committed is deemed to deſerve more than ten laſhes, it ſhall not be inflicted on any plantation or ſettlement, but in the preſence of the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, or adminiſtrator, or overſeer of the place, under whoſe care the ſlave is; nor in any workhouſe or jail, but in the preſence of the ſupervifor or keeper, and on no account ſhall they puniſh a ſlave with more than thirty-nine laſhes; or cauſe him to be whipped twice in one day, or a ſecond time before the delinquent is recovered from the effects of any former puniſhment. Putting iron collars on ſlaves, and loading them with heavy chains, are prohibited under a ſevere penalty. Sick, old, or diſabled negroes, deſerted by the owners not to be found, are to be taken care of by the pariſh. The negroes are allowed holidays at particular times in the year under certain political reſtrictions; and one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own grounds, beſides Sundays. They are not to be compelled to work upon the plantation before five in the morning, or

after

after ſeven at night, except during crop; and in the day they are to be allowed half an hour for breakfaſt, and two hours for dinner. Annual accounts of the births and deaths of negroes are to be given in to the veſtries of the reſpective pariſhes, and the ſurgeons attending the negroes are alſo required to make annual returns of their deaths, under the penalty of one hundred pounds for every neglect of return. After balancing the ſtatements of births and deaths, if the population of any eſtate is found to be increaſed, the overſeer is entitled to a reward from the proprietor of three pounds for every one on the encreaſed liſt, and the ſum is repaid to the proprietor by a deduction from his taxes. Every female having ſix children living, is exempted from hard labour; and her owner from every tax on her account, if ſhe is provided with the means of an eaſy and comfortable maintenance. Slaves charged with offences for which they are liable to be puniſhed with death or tranſportation, are to be tried by a jury conſiſting of nine

jurors, ſuch as are uſually warned and impannelled to ſerve on juries, at a ſlave-court held for the purpoſe before three juſtices. The execution of a ſlave ſentenced to death is to be performed in a public and ſolemn manner, and by no other mode than that of hanging; and when ſeveral are capitally convicted for the ſame offence, one only is to ſuffer death, except in caſes of murder and rebellion. The proceedings on theſe trials are to be recorded. Inferior crimes and miſdemeanors are puniſhable in a more ſummary manner, on a hearing before two juſtices of the peace, who are empowered to inflict puniſhments, not exceeding fifty laſhes, or ſix months confinement to hard labour.

Such are the ordinances for the protection and comfort of the negroes, and for the encouragement of population; a more humane or liberal code, conſiſtent with the relation of maſter and ſlave, it is hardly poſſible to invent or deviſe; and in the preſent ſtate of human nature it may not

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unreaſonably be deemed by men of ſenſe and ſenſibility, an adequate compenſation for the various reſtrictions neceſſarily impoſed on that liberty, or freedom of agency ſo much talked of, and ſo little known.

No, ſay ſome philanthropiſts, we cannot let the planters off ſo eaſily: theſe ordinances may be mighty fine in contemplation, but are they efficient in practice? Is there any ſuch thing as a council of protection, who are active in eſpouſing the intereſts of the negroes, and to whom they dare fly when injured? How are we to rid our imagination of the annoyance created by the ideas we have received of the ſudden thunder of the cattle, or cart, whip? Do not we know that the poor innocent creatures are ſeized by inhuman catchpoles, torn from their houſes and friends, and ſold as chattels for the payment of debts? Is religion cultivated among them? Is not the Lord's Day the one particularly devoted to working

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the negro-grounds, and carrying provisions to market?

It cannot be denied that some improvements in practice yet remain to be made in order to perfect the colonial system, and to render it fully efficient. "But," say the colonists, "is nothing done till nought remains to be done? Will you destroy the building because the architrave of the portico is incomplete? In what country are the laws fully and universally efficient? Is it in Britain? No. We can only, therefore, repeat the language we have already addressed to our sovereign, that "no opportunity, no circumstance which may enable us to make further provisions, to secure every person in the island, the certain, immediate, and active protection of the law, shall be neglected."

Taking it for granted that this declaration is sincere, let us see how far their opponents are founded in the observations and questions above stated, and inquire what

what is yet to be done to complete the hope of rational humanity, and the triumph of the coloniſts. The Council of Protection, the idea of which is noble, is not veſted in hands ſufficiently active, and the powers lodged in it ought to be placed elſewhere. But where? There is the difficulty. If, however, the planters be ſincere, it may be overcome. If oppreſſion be really deteſtable in their eyes, the proſecution of thoſe guilty of it will be accounted honourable. Let men of education, unconnected with the diſtricts in which they are to act, be appointed to hold the Council of Protection as an office for inquiry into abuſes and infringements of the law; let them have ſubordinate officers; and, inſtead of annexing to them the ideas raiſed by inquiſitors and informers, let them be every where eſteemed as the guardians of humanity, valued for their energy, and prized for enforcing laws, which have only to be executed with ſpirit to reflect all their glory on the colony,

colony, and ſilence its enemies*. Till this, or ſome ſimilar plan, be adopted, till a mode of obtaining pure evidence with eaſe be deviſed, theſe noble ordinances muſt in ſome parts ſlumber, and will be conſidered by the adverſaries of the colonial ſyſtem as mere blinds. But let me not be miſunderſtood; for in venturing to ſuggeſt the idea of an efficacious means, I am far from intending to grant, that at this day the generality of Weſt India proprietors ſtand in need of any other obſerver than the demigod of the boſom, or that inſtances of oppreſſion are now very common; nor let it be forgotten, that ſince the paſſing of the conſolidated law, ſeveral perſons have ſuffered death for wanton injuries and ſeverity to their ſlaves from which they died; but it is too well known, that on eſtates out of the hands of the proprietors, little attention is paid

* In the iſland of Grenada, the juſtices are required to nominate annually three freeholders to be *Guardians of the Slaves*, who are to take an oath to ſee the law duly executed.

to

to the welfare, to the ſupport, and comfort of the negroes. The Council of Protection ſhould keep a ſtrict eye on all eſtates in the hands of ſuch agents as were deſcribed in my laſt letter; and watch over every clauſe of the law in favour of the negroes with a jealous vigilance.

The mode adopted to enforce obedience on eſtates, is pregnant with offence to the advocates of freedom. I hate the cattle-whip as much as any one can do, and am of opinion that the entire abolition of it would not be in the leaſt injurious to the intereſts of the planter. Ancient cuſtom is no good plea in behalf of its continuance. The head-man, or, as he is unluckily called, the Driver, would perhaps looſe ſome little dignity in his own conceit by being deprived of this badge of authority, but as in fact his voice anſwers all the purpoſe of his whip, he might be very eaſily conſoled by giving him a laced hat, and a long ſtaff with a round knob like a drum-major's, for like

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that it has in the hands of the head-man been long a mere enſign of office, and we have but to turn to the conſolidated law, to ſee what little uſe can be made of it by him, and of courſe decide for ourſelves whether it can be made the cruel inſtrument of equalizing the exertions of poor weakly negroes with thoſe of the ſtrong and vigorous. This is one of the worſt charges brought againſt the planter; this is, indeed, where practiſed, amaſſing wealth at the expence of the life of man. It is not often practiſed in Jamaica, I truſt it is diſcontinued in every other iſland where it has been known. To ſhut this mouth of clamour, the planter would do well to conſider whether it would not be better to ſubſtitute for daily labour a certain ſtated portion of work, when it can be ſet off. Such taſks are given and performed with eaſe in America, where the proprietors are gainers by it, and it might probably be attended with equal ſucceſs in the Weſt Indies. Many planters, diſliking the noiſe of the cattle-whip, have

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abolished the use of it on their estates: but what a bugbear it is to philanthropists, will be seen from the following anecdote. For many years this obnoxious instrument was laid aside on the estate of a gentleman, who was not only disturbed with the noise of it, but was convinced that it did little good. There being, however, a variety of offences which it was necessary to check, culprits were brought up to the overseer, and received from about six to twelve lashes, laid on with a small kind of soldier's cat-o-nine-tails; nor in any instance of delinquency, however atrocious, did the punishment exceed three dozen. In the course of time, some of the venerable old negroes, who had long considered, and justly too, that they had done work enough in their day to entitle them to the enjoyment of ease for the rest of their lives, and who in fact were never called upon to work, waited upon their master to prefer a serious complaint against the cat-o-nine-tails. They alleged that it gave all the negroes who were punished with it dis-

orders in the inteſtines, and that it had the effect of preventing their wives from breeding, or they ſhould certainly have had more children. Each of theſe men had a young wife, having plenty to maintain her with; and the ſecret ſpring of the complaint preferred proved to be, that the gallants of the young wives incited them to perſuade the old men to make this repreſentation, and try to effect the abolition of the cat, and the reſtoration of the whip. On the queſtion being put to the negroes in general, one and all declared that things would go on much better for the change, which their perſeverance obtained to their great joy.

The next charge againſt the coloniſts is of the moſt ſerious nature, and which, however difficult to remedy, it is impoſſible to defend. Aware that the conſideration of it has been propoſed to them by his Majeſty's miniſters, and confident that they would gladly adopt any expedient, not pregnant with commercial confuſion,

fuſion, to remove this evil, I will not ſuffer my pen to expreſs my ſentiments upon it. I will only obſerve that the effects of the credit laws call loudly upon the coloniſts for amendment. The Britiſh acts of parliament that made negroes chattels for the payment of debts have been repealed, but no plan has yet been deviſed to tempt the colonial legiſlature to venture upon an alteration of the interior laws in this reſpect. But while this grievance remains the greateſt, if not the only, blot on the colonial ſyſtem, that ſyſtem will remain vulnerable; and it is to be hoped that the deſire of perfecting their code will lead the coloniſts to the diſcovery of ſome wiſe expedient, to prevent the cruelties unavoidably ariſing from the execution of civil ſuits. While cruelties charged to individuals are reprobated and ſuppreſſed, thoſe ſpringing from the laws muſt not be ſuffered to remain a diſgrace to the legiſlature, whom it behoves to recollect their own language, when the ſubject was in uniſon with their intereſts. Being called upon

by the government to raiſe among the ſlaves a corps of pioneers, what did the Houſe of Aſſembly ſay? This: "In whatever manner the legiſlature of this iſland might aſſeſs the inhabitants, to raiſe the number required for the intended corps, much diſtreſs, and even cruelty, would reſult, as the negroes would be torn from their ſettlements, their families, and from every other tie and connexion dear to them."

We are now to conſider the neglect of religion, a ſubject than which there cannot be one more important to the mind of man. The world has long had in its view the extraordinary ſight of a Chriſtian community ſupporting in the boſom of their country a population of heathens, nearly ten times more numerous than themſelves, without any pains being taken to lead them to a ſenſe of the probationary ſtate of man, of his fall, and of his redemption. That ſo many hundred thouſands of men in the Weſt Indies ſhould

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be suffered to remain in such ignorance and irreligion, is a scandal that could not escape the just, though severe, animadversions of the advocates of Africa. The justness of the censure was felt, and we find a clause in the consolidated law enacting, that all masters and mistresses, owners, or, in their absence, overseers of slaves, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour to have their slaves instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, to fit them for baptism, and to cause them to be baptised when made sensible of a deity, and the Christian faith. It has also been made a part of the duty of the clergy, to attend at their churches for the purpose of instructing negroes who will come to them. By these ordinances, be they ever so much neglected, the legislature has done its duty; for what coercive measure can be adopted to enforce an injunction, the observance of which, in the state of religion in every part of the British empire, is left to the consciences of men? Is there in

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this country any punishment for those who neglect the religious instruction of their children or domestics? Would any mode of coercion be tolerated? All that has been done, all that can be done, by legislative means in England, has been done in Jamaica *. Masters are enjoined to promote religion, churches are opened for the devout, and the clergy are bound to instruct. The rest must be the result of principles and manners. The truth, and for speaking the truth I know I shall be forgiven by those who are not touched by it, is, that religion is shamefully neglected by those who profess themselves Christians, and if the laws on the subject are abortive, it is greatly owing to the absence of all

* Laws for the observance of the Sabbath-day are seldom known to produce much reform in irreligious conduct; but notwithstanding what I have remarked respecting the law of Jamaica, there seems to be wanting a clause to prevent masters, or others, working their negroes on a Sunday. The heaviest penalties should be laid on this misdemeanor. Though far from being a general practice, instances of it occur, particularly in carrying canes to the mill.

devotion

devotion among the white people on the plantations. Religion is ſcarcely known to be attended to, except on ſome properties belonging to Moravians in the pariſhes of St. Elizabeth and Weſtmoreland, and a few other diſſenters. The Moravians deſerve great credit for their perſeverance in maintaining religious principles among their negroes, yet unfortunately it happens that proprietors, living in England, are led away by a certain reputation for management obtained by ſome men whom they appoint their attornies, men who differ in opinion with them reſpecting the utility of religious eſtabliſhments. But why ſhould Moravians, why ſhould Catholics, be more ſucceſsful in propagating the goſpel, than the miniſters of the Church of England? A learned, good, and venerable prelate twenty years ago, aſcribed their failure to obſtacles ariſing from the abject condition of the blacks, and the erroneous conceptions of their maſters, that baptiſm inferred emancipation.

cipation *. But this error, and the obſtacles he enumerates, have been long removed: it is now eleven years ſince the conſolidated law of Jamaica was paſſed, yet religion in the hands of our clergy makes little or no progreſs among the negroes: all ſucceſs ſtill accompanies Diſſenters, as it did before the improvement of the condition of the negroes. "If ſuch be the effects even of erroneous ſyſtems of faith, what might not be expected from the doctrines of the Church of England, inculcated with equal zeal †?" In this ſentence is the ſecret of our failure diſcloſed. Zeal is the great ſpring of ſucceſs in religious converſions, and it is an undeniable truth that, exalted as our clergy are by learning, talents, piety, and virtue, in zeal they are generally defective. I write with reverence, nor do I in this obſervation mean

* Sermon preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign Parts, Feb. 23, 1783, by the Biſhop of Cheſter, now Biſhop of London.

† Ibid. in a note.

to caſt the ſlighteſt diſreſpect on a body whoſe functions are in my mind moſt ſublime and holy, and among whom there are ſo many characters equal to their functions. What is neceſſary in the character of a miſſionary is not ſo in that of a Proteſtant clergyman fixed among Chriſtian pariſhioners, and in whoſe education a variety of circumſtances combine to degrade enthuſiaſm, and to deſpoil it even of its real value. He reaſons with his congregation, and perſuades them in the gentle language of friendly and paternal admonition, but he is above enliſting their paſſions and their ſenſes. The habits of polite life, to which as a gentleman he is early introduced, alſo render him unfit to be employed as a miſſionary: he does not mingle, he does not aſſociate with uninformed minds. If ever he is ſeen in the cottages of the peaſants, it is beſtowing alms, or adminiſtering the ſacrament to ſome departing ſpirit. He goes not habitually to converſe on the burden of life and the joys of heaven, on the ſins

ſins of man and the grace of Chriſt, on repentance and remiſſion. In ſhort his example and his general admonitions edify men already chriſtians, who, born and bred in the ſame country, require no enthuſiaſm to attach them to their early habits: but how little adapted he is to the taſk of converting heathens in foreign countries, may be ſeen at home in the ſucceſs obtained over him by men, inferior to him in every reſpect, who invade his fold, and rob him of his flock. It is a melancholy truth, that the negroes in our colonies have been left to a ſavage heatheniſm, while thoſe of the catholic countries have been inſtructed in chriſtianity. It ought to be known that when the revolution of France drove the prieſts to periſh in exile, or exiſt on the bounty of ſtrangers, the black chriſtians of Martinique ſent them occaſional ſuccours to a conſiderable amount. Having heard this circumſtance from the biſhop of Troyes while he was reſiding in England, I wrote to him after he became biſhop of Meaux for ſome information on the ſubject, and at the ſame

ſame time I requeſted his opinion on the cauſes of the ſuperior ſucceſs of the catholic miſſionaries. In his anſwer he ſays, "The *eſprit de corps* that animated our miſſionaries, eſpecially the Jeſuits, gave great energy to their endeavours. Their characters and talents were ſtudied by an able, and ſole ſuperior, who ſelected thoſe he thought beſt fitted for the miſſion. Chriſtian obedience, puſhed to the higheſt degree of perfection and myſtic enthuſiaſm, was the ſoul of thoſe inſtitutions. To this add the advantage which celebacy gives to our miſſionaries, by keeping them free from family cares, conjugal ſolicitude, and anxiety to provide for children, ſo that the mind is wholly devoted to its object. I think, too, that thoſe of our clergy who are truly religious, are more zealous for the ſalvation of ſouls, than are thoſe of your church though equally religious. Notwithſtanding what is ſaid of the ſuperfluity of our ceremonies, I have ſometimes thought that your clergymen confine themſelves more than ours to the externals of

the church-ſervice, and to eloquent ſermons on ſtated days. We attend more to individuals, in ſickneſs, and other caſes. Our biſhops labour more to form men for the prieſthood, and, when ordained, more cloſely examine and direct their conduct. Your clergy, I fear, rather conſider their biſhops as inſtitutors and collators to benefices, than look up to them as ſpiritual fathers, beloved and revered. This was alſo the caſe with ours, but leſs generally, if I may depend upon my obſervations. I cannot give you a circumſtantial account relative to the ſuccours I received for my clergy by means of the negroes of Martinique. The letters, which were written at the beginning of this pious work, are moſt of them deſtroyed; and indeed my worthy *curé* ſeldom ſent me more than general ſtatements. He thought the negroes really good, and very grateful for the kindneſs beſtowed upon them. He loved them as his children, took care of them, inſtructed their little ones, went frequently to viſit the ſick, and made himſelf of uſe to them in all their

their little interefts and concerns. He died in about three or four years, in confequence of fatigue, exceffive perfpirations and exertions, in the long and frequent journies he took to fee and ferve them. While he was alive, they were heard to fay, that he muft certainly be Chrift himfelf come again on earth to comfort them. What faith, fenfibility, precious ignorance, and amiable fimplicity, does this expreffion difplay! and what a eulogy on him who was the innocent occafion of it!"

I cannot do juftice to the original letter, and I have therefore enclofed it to you*. You

* "What can I fay to you, my dear friend? When I received your melancholy news, fo terrible, fo unexpected, my only wifh was to mingle my tears with yours, and to infpire your poor heart with a fortitude which feems above our natural weaknefs.

" J' ai beaucoup voyagé dernièrement pour finir un travail relatif à mon nouveau Diocèfe; et depuis que j'ai appris cette fatale nouvelle, je porte partout avec moi le fouvenir de cette chère enfant, de vos douleurs, des agonies de

You may paſs over the firſt page, unleſs you chooſe to read the effuſion of a noble heart

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de tous qui l'entouroit, et dont elle faiſoit le bonheur. Ce n'eſt pas elle que je plains, car elle eſt tombée en de bonnes mains, et tant de candeur, de piété, et d'innocence ne peuvent pas mener au malheur. Mais vous! mais ſa pauvre mère, et ſon aimable et ſenſible ſœur: vous êtes tous à plaindre, je le ſens; je ſens encore que je n'ai rien à dire pour vous conſoler. J' attends votre guériſon du temps, du triſte plaiſir, que vous aurez pris à la pleurer, et, par deſſus tout, de cette main bienfaiſante qui frappe et qui guérit, qui afflige et qui conſole.

"Ce que vous me demandez relativement à l' etabliſſement de la Religion Chrêtienne dans nos Iſles d' Amerique, m' eſt abſolument inconnu, dumoins quant aux détails, et je ne crois pas que nous en ayons une hiſtoire particulière. Ce qui concerne St. Domingue eſt ebauché dans le 7eme volume des *lettres édifiantes* des miſſionaires Jeſuites: vous y trouverez entr' autres les plaidoyers contradictoires, faits en préſence du Roi d' Eſpagne, par l'Evêque de Darien contre les Indiens de St. Domingue, et par le vertueux Las-Caſas Evêque de Chiappa en leur faveur. Mais les Capucins et les Dominiquains qui ont été enſuite chargés de ces miſſions, n'ont pas, autant que je le puis ſavoir, entretenu avec leurs Frères d'Europe une correſpondence auſſi exacte que l'avoient fait les Jeſuites: au moins le public n'en jouit pas.

heart to a wounded one: it refers to a young friend of his, of whose purity, piety, and

pas. Avec du temps et des recherches, je pense qu'on en viendroit à bout, surtout quand tout notre monde, qui est encore un peu dispersé, sera mieux rassemblé. Mais vous êtes pressé, et en conséquence je renonce à m'en occuper. Mes propres reflexions sur le succès de nos Missionaires et le manque de succès des votres, ne vont pas loin, faute de savoir bien les circomstances respectives. L' esprit de Corps qui animoit les notres, surtout les Jésuites, ajoutoit beaucoup d'énergie à leur action. Un Supèrieur unique observoit les sujets, leurs dispositions, leur capacité, et envoyoit ceux qu'il croyoit les plus propres à la besogne. L' obéissance Chrêtienne, poussée au plus haut dégré de la perfection evangelique, faisoit l' ame de ces institutions. Ajoutez le célibat, qui rend nos Missionaires dégagés des soins d'une famille, du partage des affections, et de l' inquiétude sur le sort des enfans; de sorte que l'ame est toute entière à l' objet qui l'enflamme, et sans aucune distraction.

" Je pense encore que les sujets vraiment pieux de notre clergé ont en général un zèle plus actif pour le salut des ames, que ceux de l' Eglise Anglicane qui semblent avoir autant de piété. Quoiqu'on dise parmi vous de la superfluité des cérémonies Romaines, j'ai cru voir que vos Prêtres se bornoient plus que les notres à l'extérieur du service divin, et d'une prédication oratoire à des jours marqués. Nous prenons plus de soin des malades, et de l' instruction Chrêtienne

and innocence he had been a witneſs for ſome years ; to a young friend of mine, whoſe

Chrêtienne des enfans. Nos Evêques s'occupent davantage à former les ſujets pour le ſacerdoce, et les ſuivent de plus près dans l'examen et la direction de leur conduite quand une fois ils ſont prêtres. Enfin je crains que vos Prêtres ne voient plus ſouvent dans leur Evêque un collatêur de Bénéfices qu'un Père ſpirituel chéri et reſpecté. Ce defaut avoit lieu auſſi parmi les notres, mais moins généralement, ſi toutefois je dois m'en rapporter à mes obſervations.

" Je ſuis maintenant hors d' état de vous parler avec quelque détail des ſécours que j' ai reçus pour les Prêtres du Diocèſe de Troyes et pour d' autres bonnes œuvres, pendant le cours de la revolution. Plus d' une fois vous m' avez entendu dire, avec un tranſport d' admiration et d' attendriſſement, que des ſommes aſſez conſidérables m' étoient envoyées par les négres de la Martinique. C'eſt à leur pieuſe libéralité que je faiſois alluſion, lorſqu'en écrivant au mois d' Octobre 1801, une lettre, imprimée depuis à Paris, et dont je vous ai remis un exemplaire, je diſois à mes Vicaires Généraux : " Au moment òu j' étois près de perdre toute eſpèrance, des reſſources inattendues m'arriverent d' un autre hémiſphère ; et les hommes les plus dénués, ce ſemble, de toute la race humaine, vinrent au ſecours des pauvres Prêtres de mon Diocèſe, O Providence ! je bénis votre bonté, et j'adore vos voies myſtèrieuſes. Ces ſecours ont été plus d' une fois renouvellés, &c."

" J' ai

whose friendship with me was of the rarest kind, whose presence diffused happiness, whose

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" J' ai malheureusement détruit la plupart des lettres qui me furent écrites de la Martinique par feu M. *Niel,* curé d' Eclance dans le Diocèse de Troyes, et transplanté dans cette isle en 1794, par une suite de notre revolution. Chargé de la cure des noirs au Fort St. Pierre de la Martinique, cet homme admirable et que mon cœur regretera toujours, se consacra au service des négres, obtint leur confiance par son zèle et sa charité, et m' envoya de tems à autre le produit de leurs offrandes volontaires, pour le distribuer principalement à ses confrères dispersés en Allemagne, en Suisse, en Pologne, et en Angleterre. Il croyoit les négres foncièrement bons et très sensibles à la bonté qu'on leur témoignoit. Il les aimoit comme ses enfans, prenoit soin d'eux, de leurs petits intérêts, instruisoit leurs enfans, visitoit assiduement et consoloit les malades. De longues et frequentes excursions entreprises pour les voir et les servir, l'ont consumé en peu d' années, par la fatigue, et les sueurs excessives. De son vivant on les a entendus dire qu'il ètoit surement Jesus Christ, descendu de nouveau sur la terre pour venir à leur secours. Quelle foi, quelle sensibilité, quelle prétieuse ignorance, quelle aimable simplicité, ne trouve t'on pas dans ce seul mot? et quel éloge de celui qui en a été l'occasion innocente.

" Son successeur a continué le même bien, mais avec des secours aussi abondans pour mes prêtres, je n'ai pas eû de lui

whoſe death has cauſed a laſting abſence of joy.

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lui les mêmes épanchemens du cœur, parceque je ne le connoiſſois pas perſonnellement, quoiqu'il fut frère de mon digne curé. Quant à celui-ci, j'ôſe dire que ſon cœur étoit le chef d'oeuvre de la bonté humaine, relevée par un ſentiment religieux auquel la ſenſibilité donnoit une grande énergie.

" Si vous citez ces faits, parlez peu de moi, ſinon pour dire que je ſuis votre ami ; pas d'autre éloge ; celui-la me ſuffit. Adieu, my dear friend ; je courrai moins cet hiver, et pourrai vous ècrire plus exactement.

" + Eveque de Meaux."

" Paris, 31, Oct^{re}. 1802."

LETTER XXI.

The Subject of Religion continued.—Plan for Missionaries proposed.—Maroons.—The Opinion of a Missionary sent to Jamaica in the Year 1795.—Observations on the Danger apprehended from St. Domingo.—Improbability of a general Insurrection in Jamaica.—Plans for the further Security of the Island.

LET us pursue the theme which was broken off by the conclusion of my last letter. The want of zeal, the want of example, and the erroneous extreme into which philanthropy runs, are the causes of the languid progress of religion among the negroes. When the clergy, employed to propagate the gospel, shall feel the apostolic glow for the salvation of souls; when the white people in the colonies shall act conformably to their profession of faith; and when philanthropists, who preach to the poor and wretched of Europe, that this is a world of misery in which

which they muſt have patience, looking to another for a better condition, ſhall ceaſe to preach to the negroes that it is a world of bliſs from which they only are excluded; we may hope to ſee realized the picture that has been drawn of ſocieties "of truly Chriſtian negroes, impreſſed with a juſt ſenſe, and living in the habitual practice of the ſeveral duties they owe to God, to their maſters, to their fellow labourers, and to themſelves." The dependence on the remote bliſs of a future ſtate inculcated by our Saviour, is ſhaken by that immediate promiſe of happineſs in emancipation given by ſome who yet conſider themſelves as his diſciples. However affluence may veil the truth either in Europe or the Weſt Indies, humility and ſubmiſſion are the corner ſtones of the Temple of Chriſt. The ſacrifices of God are a broken ſpirit and a contrite heart, and whether the reſult of our own ſins, or the ſins of the race of man, which have involved us in the general ruin, there is more comfort, not only ſpiritual, but

temporal,

temporal, to be expected in tempering the efforts of melioration with a Christian spirit of resignation, than by vainly attempting to raise fallen creatures to that proud system of general independence never meant for man. Improve his condition, but improve it gradually and cautiously, remembering with awe what a monster improvement has lately been manifested; the parent of atheism, of treason, of murder, and of slavery. But in preaching resignation, let it be accompanied by Christian charity and example: for negroes, like other men, will judge of the sincerity of faith by actions more than by professions*. To aid the propagation of the gospel among the negroes, the colonists must conform

* The negroes, having no reference to the marriage ceremony, commonly call women who cohabit for a constancy with a man, his wives. The following dialogue actually passed between a master and his slave, who had taken a new wife. "You must take your own wife Melia back again."—"Me no forsake Melia, massa."—"What! have you not taken Sue, Jupiter's wife?"—"Jupiter da part wi her, massa, so me take her."—"What! have two wives! for shame!"—"Massa, wha make you come upon poor negro bone so? you no hab two wife yousself?"

to the regulations of Chriſtianity, muſt prove themſelves Chriſtians: and let them be aſſured, that the doctrines of humility and reſignation will never proceed effectually from the mouths of thoſe who appear to be independent of their God. Hoping, then, that philanthropiſts are becoming more guarded, and coloniſts more devout, let us enquire into the practicability of ſome plan for producing thoſe benefits which might be expected from a zealous co-operation of the clergy.

I will venture to ſay that little or no ſucceſs is to be hoped from the legiſlative injunction to maſters, or the obligation impoſed on rectors to wait at their churches. Eſtimating the number of the clergy in Jamaica by the pariſhes, there is not above one to 1,500 white people, nor above one to 15,000 of the general maſs of inhabitants. Pariſhes form large diviſions of the iſland, and might rather be called counties, as may be judged by recollecting that there are only twenty in the whole iſland,

a num-

a number which we find nearly equalled in the limits of some small country-towns in England, for instance Colchester, where I believe there are fifteen. The absurdity of a clergyman waiting at his church before or after service for the arrival of 10,000 catechumens, some of whom, with the utmost expedition, could not perform in three days the journey they would have to take, is too glaring to need being pointed out. Think of the ceremony of confirmation occasionally performed by a Bishop, who, some hundred youths of both sexes being assembled, has hardly time in the forenoon to lay a hand on each head and pronounce a blessing contained in thirty-four words. To be serious in disseminating Christian truths and comforts, the sower should be at hand. Why should not our colonists take hints from those of other nations? or wherever they can find them? Among the Spaniards in South America, "every district of Indians has a *Protector*; clergymen, paid by government, are appointed to instruct them; and the principal

cipal ecclefiaftics are empowered to inform and admonifh the civil magiftrates, if any Indians are deprived of their juft rights*". The Indian *Protector* may have furnifhed the idea of the Grenada Guardian, and the Jamaica Council of Protection, excellent eftablifhments were they efficient, and why fhould not the example be followed in the appointment of clergymen to ftated convenient diftricts? in the appointment of miffionaries for the fpecial purpofe of inftructing the blacks, unconnected with the parifh duties, but amenable to the King's ecclefiaftical commiffaries? The proprietors of contiguous eftates might be bound jointly to provide on the moft convenient fpot, be the property whofe it will, a good houfe, and fome acres of pafturage, for the miffionary's ufe; and an allowance adequate to a decent maintenance fhould be made by them, or by the government of the country. The expence of thefe eftablifhments could not be great, and fhould not be named when

* Robertfon's America.

the

the benefits to be expected from them are conſidered. The duties of a miſſionary ſo ſtationed I will not preſume to ſtate. To require of him a perfection that ſhould lead to the compariſon obtained from the negroes by the Biſhop of Meaux's Curé, would be perhaps expecting too much, but certainly the nearer he approached the character of his divine maſter, the more hope would there be of his ſucceſs; a character, by the by, in which we find with the energy of action, and example in promoting the objects of his heavenly miſſion, little or no enthuſiaſm of language. The great zeal we require of the miſſionary, like that of the excellent Curé, ſhould conſiſt chiefly in an unequivocal manifeſtation of benevolence towards the negroes, and of the ſincerity of his own faith. To overcome their ignorance, he muſt gain their hearts; he muſt talk with them, and he muſt engage thoſe who underſtand him to talk with thoſe who do not*.

His

* The importation of young negroes, none above twenty-five years old, is very favourable to religious inſtruction

Inſtead

His being a married man, far from being an objection, would be a recommendation. Celibacy, clothed with that purity, and grounded on thoſe motives which gave riſe to it among ſincere Chriſtians, is very ſublime,—too ſublime to be otherwiſe than rare among men. I am too well acquainted with the Weſt-Indies to think that a batchelor would be a better miſſionary than a married man: beſides, an example of marriage is an important object. Placed with his wife and family in the centre of a diſtrict to which he could extend his care with eaſe, what effect might not be hoped from a good man, ſincere in his faith, and ſtrenuous in the diſcharge of his duty? Beſides diſſeminating the principles of our bleſſed religion, he might be a check on the conduct of thoſe who diſregard the regulations in favour of the negroes:

Inſtead of the new negroes infecting thoſe previouſly ſettled or born in the iſland, it is probable they will bring with them a docility which Chriſtian negroes would quickly improve into a ſenſe of religion.

his obſervation, his teſtimony, would operate like a charm throughout his diſtrict: to him the Council of Protection might look as a ſpring of energy, and he might enable them to give efficiency to the law. The great, perhaps only, obſtacle to this plan, is the jealouſy which he might experience from the owners and managers of the eſtates of his diſtrict. In moral purſuits all obſtacles ariſe from the paſſions. It ſhould be well underſtood in the outſet, and confirmed by the conduct of the miſſionary, that no part of his duty will lead him to any temporal interference in the plantations, and that the very reverſe of idleneſs and diſcontent is to be the reſult of the duties of his miſſion. By reſpect to the proprietors, and kindneſs to the white perſons employed on the various eſtates, a mild and ſenſible man would overcome the jealouſy feared, and by evincing that the ſtrict and unfailing diſcharge of his duty was the reſult of conſcientious dictates, he would ſecure in

return reſpect and affection, and perhaps reap a harveſt which he was not called to ſow. But in order to prevent all interference of a nature to be injurious to the intereſt of the planter, the miſſionary muſt be made amenable to the tribunal of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſaries, on the information of the planter, or others intereſted in the property. To counterbalance this, he ſhould have a proſpect of being provided for, after a faithful diſcharge of his miſſion for a certain number of years. After a ſervice of ten years, he ſhould have it in his option to return to England, and that option ſhould be renewable every five years after the firſt ten. A liſt of the names of the miſſionaries might be kept in the office of his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and ſome of the benefices at the diſpoſal of the church might be devoted to the ultimate proviſion for them. Such a proſpect too would be an incentive to zeal, as the expected preſentation might be deferred, or accelerated, according to the conduct

conduct of the miſſionary. Nor ſhould the knowledge of that conduct depend ſolely on the character given by the eccleſiaſtical commiſſaries: triennial, or ſeptennial, viſitors from Europe might be ſent to the colonies to make a report to his Majeſty, as Head of the Church, of the ſtate of eccleſiaſtical affairs in thoſe parts of his empire.

Doubt, expence, the diſtaſte for innovation, and luke-warmneſs on ſacred ſubjects, not to ſay irreligion, will cauſe ſuch a ſcheme to be long poſtponed, and perhaps ultimately rejected. Perſuaded of this, I have thought that it would be a good plan to attempt the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity firſt among the Maroons now living in Jamaica. Theſe people, however averſe themſelves to any alteration of their cuſtoms, have no objection to their children being brought up Chriſtians. Many of the grown people are baptized, but when I uſe the word Chriſtian, I imply not merely outward forms, but an inward

ſenſe of the truth and bleſſing of Revelation. This ſenſe is evidently not awakened in men who perſiſt in habits inconſiſtent with the precepts of Chriſtianity. Time, reaſoning, example, might have an influence over thoſe habits, nor ſhould the hope or the labour be given up, but the plan that affords the beſt proſpect of ſucceſs, is the eſtabliſhment of miſſionaries in the Maroon towns, to inſtruct the young, to catechize them, to baptize infants on a ſolemn aſſurance of their parents that no impediments ſhall be given to their being brought up in the faith of Chriſt, to baptize the growing youth on their undertaking to conform to the ordinances of the church, to promote marriages, to inculcate induſtry and content, to introduce handicraft trades, and regular tillage. I cannot but think that in a few years theſe towns ſo guided, would become Chriſtian communities, and that under able and benevolent ſuperintendants, they might be made of the utmoſt

importance

importance to the ſecurity and happineſs of the iſland in general.

Before I quit the ſubject of religion, it will be proper to ſtate that, in the year 1795, which was previous to the alteration of the eccleſiaſtical regimen in Jamaica, a clergyman of the Church of England was ſent to the iſland as a miſſionary, by the Society for the Converſion, religious Inſtruction, and Education, of the Negro Slaves in the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands. He carried with him a ſtrong letter of recommendation from the Biſhop of London, preſident of the ſociety, to the Governor of Jamaica. His name was Munn; he was an amiable man, and a very zealous divine. He told a friend of mine, after making ſeveral excurſions in the country, that he had not only received every attention and civility on the eſtates he had viſited, but had been allowed the freeſt communication with the negroes, whoſe ſituation he declared was far more comfortable than he had expected

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to find it. He acknowledged that he had received in England unfavourable impreſſions reſpecting their treatment, but that from what he had himſelf witneſſed, he ſaw among them more of the comforts of life, more apparent contentment, more happineſs than he had ever ſeen among the labouring order of people in any country. He entertained great hopes of ſucceeding in making many good Chriſtians, and ſaid that the obſtacles he had heard of, ariſing from prejudices and former habits, were not ſuch as to deter him, or leſſen his zeal. Should not ſuch a teſtimony, and it cannot but be known, relieve the Chriſtian and philanthropic anxieties of Britiſh boſoms, and at the ſame time induce the coloniſts to embrace the plan of diſtrict miſſionaries? For if a ſingle clergyman had ſuch a proſpect of ſucceſs, what might not be expected, if an adequate number of labourers were ſent forth into the harveſt? The time would then ſoon come when we ſhould hear governors, in proroguing the Aſſembly, re-

commend

commend to the care of the members in their reſpective pariſhes, the morals and religion of their negroes, as we have already had the pleaſure of hearing one recommend *their happineſs*: "I have nothing particular to recommend to you at our parting," ſaid the Governor, at the concluſion of the ſeſſion of 1797, "except the purſuit of ſuch humane and provident meaſures, in your reſpective pariſhes, during the approaching holidays, as are likely to ſecure the tranquillity of the iſland, and the happineſs of your ſlaves."

We are now drawing towards the concluſion of my taſk; a few words reſpecting the future protection, ſecurity, and proſperity of the iſland, remain to complete it. The inhabitants of Jamaica cannot contemplate the ſtruggle in St. Domingo but with anxiety: yet there is, perhaps, little danger in reality to be apprehended from the iſſue of the conflict, except that ariſing from the proximity of the French power. The notion of a free, active,

 negro

negro republic, does not ſeem to have any reaſonable foundation. Were the country entirely in poſſeſſion of the blacks, and any government attempted, it would be that of tyrants and ſlaves, as in Africa. A certain number would form armies for chieftains, and compel the maſs to labour. The military coercion neceſſary to make negroes cultivate ſugar plantations, may be called by any other name than ſlavery, but notwithſtanding what has been ſaid of the former ſtate of the Weſt-India bondage, a man muſt be ignorant of the nature of black maſters, who would not embrace the preſent condition of the ſlaves in Jamaica, in preference to ſuch a government. The Government of St. Domingo falling into the hands of black chiefs, would moſt probably terminate in a much worſe ſtate of ſlavery than ever exiſted before in the Weſt-Indies: nor would thoſe chiefs, in my opinion, attempt to diſturb the colonial ſtate of things; on the contrary, they would find it their intereſt to ſupport it, and ſuch I have reaſon to believe were actually the prin-

principles of Touſſaint. Suppoſe, on the other hand, what however is much leſs probable, that no government at all were eſtabliſhed, and that the negroes lived throughout the iſland in a wild, independent ſtate; what is to be feared from people who act without direction, without union, without energy? and who, though near, are ſeparated by the ocean? Be this as it may, the inhabitants of Jamaica cannot be too much upon their guard, and whatever tends to the protection and ſecurity of the iſland, ſhould be reſorted to with alacrity, and a liberal contempt of expence. With reſpect to internal danger, it is not likely that a general inſurrection will ever happen. If ſome of the negroes are diſcontented, ſome are happy and attached to their maſters, therefore unanimity in rebellion is not to be apprehended. In thoſe that have failed and thoſe that have taken place, diſcoveries have always been made, and faithful aſſiſtance given, by negroes. Even in St. Domingo, in ſpite of all temptations, what numbers remained

true to their maſters! While the Jacobins were murdering the king in France, their incendiaries were uſing his name to compel the negroes to embrace the revolution. Hundreds followed the fates of their maſters to Jamaica, where their conduct was teſtified to be exemplary *. Others concealed and ſupported them till they found an opportunity of ſafely embarking them. Thouſands looked on with inactive horror and trepidation, till, abandoned by men whom they loved, and who could no longer protect them, they were forced to ſubmit to emancipation. Conſiderable bodies of mulattoes and negroes inliſted under the command of Montalambert, De Brughe, Deſſource, La Pointe a mulatto, and John Kinna, a negro, to oppoſe the torrent of Jacobin freedom. Beſides this principle of attachment, which is more general than the adverſaries of the planters will allow, there are other reaſons why inſurrections cannot

* See evidence before a ſecret committee. Votes of Aſſembly, December 1798.

be extenſive. The free people of colour, and negroes, are ever ready to ſuppreſs them. Arms are not to be obtained; the negroes are not uſed to them; the generality of the ſlaves reſide in the low-lands and open parts of the country, and are little acquainted with the interior. All internal danger, therefore, ariſes from gradual collections of fugitives, their flying to the receſſes of the woods, and becoming a rallying point for the diſcontented. The grand object, then, of the inhabitants of Jamaica, ſhould be the ſettlement of white people in the interior of the iſland. Of this the Aſſembly ſeemed to be ſenſible in the reports inſerted in their journals; and on a propoſal made to them by General Nugent for an arrangement of military quarters, interior poſts being recommended, they voted 20,000*l.* for that purpoſe. There is great wiſdom in theſe arrangements, but ſtill they are upon ſo ſmall a ſcale, that the troops may in a manner be ſaid to be always upon the alert, a ſtate in which no ſociety can be conſidered as en-

joying that ſtability and ſecurity which is the reſult of civilization. The interior ſettlements, alluded to by the Aſſembly, were propoſed, like the other ſettlements of the iſland, to originate gradually by the gleanings of the induſtrious white people, who laying by enough to purchaſe a few negroes, would begin and cultivate parcels of land. This, though extending cultivation, makes no alteration in the proportion of the white and black population, and is not the kind of ſettlement beſt ſuited to the protection and ſecurity of the iſland. Incalculable advantages might be derived from meaſures which are ſuggeſted by a view of the country in reference to the variety of climates it affords. The low-lands are ſultry, the mountains cool and bracing. In the former, white people find it impoſſible to labour in the field; not ſo in the latter, where labour is not only practicable but eaſy. Let the emigration that takes place from Europe be encouraged to ſhape its current to Jamaica. Germans are good ſettlers, let a number of young healthy men and

women.

women be invited, and offered tracts of the interior on certain conditions; let the ſhoals that emigrate from Great Britain to America be intercepted, and guided to the healthy high-lands of Jamaica. Let them depend upon their own labour, and let their employment of negroes be very limited. It is much on this plan that the ſoldiers of the Weſt-India regiments are to be provided for, and the government ſhould be very jealous of admitting negro labourers in the interior ſituations. The great objects of the ſcheme is, in the firſt place, a large white population in the interior trained to arms; and in the next, the opening of roads. Let the Legiſlature by a compulſory law, for patents and avarice are in the way, purchaſe in different parts of the interior, moſt convenient and ſuited to the purpoſe, thirty thouſand acres of uncultivated land, and diſtribute them in ſmall portions to new ſettlers, eſpecially married men. In the ſame manner, a little money, clothing, and proviſions for each to begin with. It is probable, that were ſuch a ſcheme

ſcheme made known, there would be no want of new ſettlers. Were half the pains taken by the coloniſts to paint the temperature of the mountain air of Jamaica, and the advantages a poor man would gain by his ſettlement, that have been taken by the Government of America, to extol the wilds of Kentucky, the iſland would be ſoon ſettled. But in offering a plan, let us conſider the means of effecting it.

When roads are carried through ſettled lands, a certain value fixed by a jury is paid to the proprietor. The reverſe of this ought to be the caſe on lands in the interior, their value being in general encreaſed from one to three pounds an acre by roads being opened to them; the proprietors of thoſe lands, therefore, through which the new roads paſs, ſhould be made to pay largely towards making them. The value of the lands ſhould be rated in the reſpective pariſhes; for ſuch lands, being exempt from all other land-tax and quit-rent, the proprietors ſhould pay a ſixth part of the

the affixed value in three equal payments, in three ſucceeding years; proprietors of the lands adjoining theſe patents, one-eighth of the value of their lands, in ſimilar inſtalments; and proprietors of all other unſettled lands throughout the iſland ſixpence per acre towards the accompliſhment of the propoſed plan. On the roads the ſettlers ſhould themſelves be bound to work in alternate weeks, after they had prepared proviſion grounds, ſecured good houſes, and planted ſome coffee. The roads ſhould be well paved, and a certain ſum per chain paid to the people for their labour. To this purpoſe an adequate proportion, or rather the whole of the annual grants of the Legiſlature for interior roads ſhould be applied. Theſe amount to 15,000 *l.* annually. Say then the tax of ſixpence per acre on the uncultivated woodlands (not including moraſs or ruinate ſavanas) produces on eight hundred thouſand acres 20,000 *l.*, the impoſt on the lands through which the roads paſs, on a rough gueſs, 30,000 *l.* a year for three

years ; theſe added to the 15,000 *l.*, give a total of 65,000 *l.* a-year for the firſt three years ; after which, the lands becoming liable to the uſual tax, the ſum would be reduced to 37,250 *l.* To commence the work, however, of introducing ſettlers into the interior, clearing the country, and making roads, there would be a ſum of 90,000 *l.* for the expences attending the obtaining of fit perſons, providing houſes, and forming the eſtabliſhments ; 60,000 *l.* for ſupplying proviſion and clothing, and 45,000 *l.* for road work ; altogether 195,000 *l.* payable in three years. That the buſineſs of ſettling the interior might not be retarded, or neglected, the new ſettlers ſhould be received only on condition of their conſenting to be indented to the iſland for ſeven years, in which caſe there ſhould be allotted, out of the thirty thouſand acres, to each ſettler twenty-five acres for himſelf, ten for his wife, and five for every child, to be conveyed to him in fee at the end of his indenture. In the mean time, certain laws and regulations reſpecting

ing the ſettlers would be neceſſary. They ſhould not be able to contract valid debts during the time of their indentures. They ſhould be occaſionally trained to arms by ſerjeants from the regular Weſt India regiments, and made markſmen and rangers. Among them ſhould reſide ſome of the clergy, able ſurgeons, a ſurveyor, and a ſuperintendant, who ſhould have at his command a guard of ſix or eight men always ready, and ſtationed near his houſe. As ſoldiers, they would of courſe be under the command of the governor, but they ſhould never be raiſed above the rank of warrant officers; yet as ſuch made to reſpect themſelves highly. In executing the plan, other improvements and ordinances would occur. It would be found at firſt an expenſive one, perhaps, till the encreaſed value of the lands compenſated the advances: but what an inſurance would it be of property! what a pledge of permanent tranquillity! All apprehenſion of internal commotion would be at an end, and ſuch a force in conjunction with Britiſh aid to

oppoſe

oppoſe to foreign enemies, would likewiſe render all external attempts abortive.

As the execution of the above project, were it to be adopted, would require ſome time, it is worth conſideration whether meanwhile it would not be wiſe to eſtabliſh in Jamaica a corps of police, ſimilar to that which exiſted under the French monarchy, called the Maréchauſſé, whoſe duty conſiſted chiefly in riding through the province where they were ſtationed, to take up ſuſpicious perſons, and keep order. Being a duty that required not only judgment, but a ſuperiority of ſituation in life, the corps was almoſt made up of officers, there being one to two or three privates at moſt, the patrolling party always having an officer, by which means the privates were all confidential men. In Jamaica, the country regiments, or rangers raiſed on purpoſe and called the County Rangers, might be employed as permanent patrols of the iſland. The expence of ſuch a corps would not be great, as the whole might be limited

limited to two hundred men, divided into twenty companies of ten men each, a company for each pariſh, conſiſting of two officers and eight privates, who ſhould be ſubdivided into two parties, of one officer and four privates, to be mounted on creole horſes or mules, the parties taking alternate monthly duty. A few truſty negroes or Maroons might be added to the parties. The country, thus perpetually traverſed by active, vigilant, and prudent men, would be in little danger of ſudden inſurrection, and fugitives would have no time to reſt in their haunts. If, in addition to the duty of obſervation, the officer of the party were enjoined to aſſiſt the functions of the council of protection, it would render ſecurity complete, and give a pleaſing and amiable colour to an office only eſtimable for the order it guards. It is true, that in this caſe bad men might conſider the party as ſpies, but what plan is without an objection? good men would think in a different way, and even the bad be aſhamed to manifeſt their opinions.

The security of the country might be further strengthened by enacting some regulations in favour of the free people of colour, many of whom are well educated and sensible men; but who, though free, enjoy none of the qualifications of political society. It is but within a very few years that they were enabled, if assaulted by a white man, to give evidence on a trial of the assault. This right was granted to them by an act of the Assembly in consequence of their conduct in the Maroon war; but it is restricted entirely to the person assaulted, for in the case of any other they cannot give evidence. This order of men, and also the free blacks, are indubitably friends and supporters of the government; and it is to be wished, that according to certain criterions of religion, marriage, education, property, &c. the privileges of political society were more or less extended to them, and that from some every restriction were removed.

Jamaica protected by Great Britain, and secured by religious and internal political regulations, could not fail to present to the world, scenes of as much happiness and prosperity as the state of human nature will admit. May they be complete and permanent!

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Letter from Don Luis de las Casas to the Earl of Balcarres.

' My lord,

' By the hand of Lieutenant-Colonel Quarrell, I have received the letter with which your Excellency is pleased to favor me, under date the 9th of the last past month; recommending that gentleman, by the commission he brings, to buy dogs in this island, for the purpose of following the Maroons in the woods. Agreeably to such your Excellency's weighty recommendation, Mr. Quarrell was authorized to acquit himself of his commission, and to-morrow he returns, carrying with him the dogs wanted, as well as the people of this country he required to look after them. But while I enjoy the pleasure of complying with your Excellency's desire, I ought to represent to your consideration, that our laws for the Indies resist the admission of strangers into the ports of our colonies; those only excepted in this island, who bring new negroes for sale here, and such Americans as come to us with provisions. Nor hath our government ever

departed from this ſyſtem, even with the moſt favoured nations, and in the ſtricteſt alliance with it. Wherefore, I beſeech your Excellency, weighing the diſagreeable ſituation I am in, between duty and the deſire I have of obliging you, to relieve me from the painful alternative; favouring me with opportunities that, without a compromiſe of obligation, may afford me the ſatisfaction of employing myſelf in your ſervice.

'God preſerve your Excellency for many years.

'Your Excellency's, *&c. &c. &c.*

(Signed) 'LUIS DE LAS CASAS.

'*Havanna, 30th November,* 1795.

'*His Excellency Earl of Balcarres.*'

No. II.

Letter from the Marquis del Real Socorro to W. D. Quarrell, Esq.

'Sir,

'THE Council of the Havanna, to which the King of Spain has committed the charge of promoting whatever tends to the improvement of agriculture, commerce, and navigation, of the iſland of Cuba, are of opinion, that the eſtabliſhing light-houſes, at certain ſtations on its extenſive coaſts, is an object worthy its attention, upon which the ſafety of navigators greatly depends, and, through the want of ſuch help, their lives and properties are continually expoſed.

'As yet the Council are only engaged about fixing one at the Havanna, for the particular navigation of that port. The locating others on the ſeveral points neceſſary as well for the Mexican gulf as the various channels that ſurround this iſland, is a vaſt and expenſive undertaking, beyond the actual reſources of the Council. But if it ſhould be found that innumerable advantages would reſult to the commerce of Jamaica from ſuch eſtabliſhments, and this appears manifeſt from the converſations you have held with us upon the buſineſs, and that ſufficient means ſhould be propoſed to the Council to carry the plan into

execution, with reſources applicable thereto, the Council will with pleaſure attend to what is offered on the part of the commerce of Jamaica, and, with its utmoſt ability, will contribute to accompliſh an undertaking of ſo much utility to both nations.

'It only remains for me to ſtate to you, Sir, that the Council is deſirous of knowing the opinion of the moſt experienced and moſt intelligent Engliſh mariners, reſpecting the points where light-houſes ſhould be erected on this iſland, the manner of conſtructing them, and the expence attending; with ſuch other particulars as may be neceſſary for us to have in view, ſhould ſuch eſtabliſhments go forward; and to requeſt of you, Sir, as deputy of the legiſlative Aſſembly of Jamaica, to be pleaſed to communicate theſe intentions of the Council, that it may obtain the deſired information, and learn what reſolves may be taken on the object of this letter.

'God preſerve, *&c. &c. &c.*

(Signed) 'CL. MARQ. DEL REAL SOCORRO.

'*Havanna, 29th November*, 1795.

'*William Dawes Quarrell, Eſquire.*'

Captain Farquhar's Report to the Council of the Havanna.

'1*ſt*. It would ſeem neceſſary, for the ſafety of the navigation under conſideration, to eſtabliſh three light-houſes; *viz.* one on the Grand Caymanas, the ſecond on the Black Key, near the ſouth-weſt point of the Colorades, the third on Point Jacko.

'2*dly*. It may reaſonably be ſuppoſed the Government of Jamaica, when applied to, will charge itſelf with the eſtabliſhment of the firſt.

'3*dly*. It would appear that the other, on the Colorades, might, by two reflectors placed thus △ in a lantern of a ſexangular ſhape and ſufficient height, inſure the ſafety of veſſels approaching that dangerous reef.

'4*thly*. One of the ſame deſcription on Point Jacko would not only be of great ſervice to the navigation of the Old Streights, but ſecure the paſſage through the Gulf, and, from the certainty of the departure and ſhort diſtance, in a great meaſure do away the neceſſity of a light on the Martyrs.

'To prevent as much as poſſible, any diſappointment from the lights being out of order, it will be beſt to uſe the moſt ſimple; and as thoſe at Liverpool have anſwered every purpoſe, being conſtructed from the reſult of numberleſs experiments, and of which you have an account in Hutchinſon's Practical Seamanſhip, they may be recommended as the beſt and cheapeſt. If, after all, a light might be thought neceſſary on the Martyrs, it is recommended to moor a floating light within the ſouth point of the Carysfort Reef; as it is on that ſhoal that nineteen out of twenty veſſels that are loſt meet their fate.'

No. III.

SEE Votes of the Houſe of Aſſembly of Jamaica of the 2d and 23d of March; the 20th, 23d, 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th, of April; and the 1ſt of May, 1796. The reader is referred to theſe Journals, as they are eaſily obtained, being already printed in a ſmall volume publiſhed by Mr. Bryan Edwards, and ſold by Stockdale. They ſhould otherwiſe have been inſerted here. They contain a correſpondence between Lord Balcarres and General Walpole, with ſome proceedings of the Aſſembly relative to the Maroons. The following letters and reſolution referred to, are not publiſhed in the pamphlet, but are on the Journals of October 28th and November 3d, 1796.

" *To the Honourable the Speaker of the Aſſembly.*

" MR. SPEAKER, April 29, 1796.

" I have the honour of your letter of the 22d of April, incloſing a reſolution of the Houſe of Aſſembly, expreſſive of their thanks for the ſignal ſervices performed by me, during the late rebellion of the Maroons of Trelawney-Town.

" I never, Sir, could have expected, that any exertions of my very humble talents could have drawn ſo diſtinguiſhed a mark of condeſcenſion from the

 Houſe:

house: but, Sir, not to take more merit to myself than I ought, on this occasion, I must confess all my endeavours must have failed, had it not been for the able assistance which was afforded to me by Lieutenant-Colonel Skinner, and the rest of the field officers engaged upon this service; and indeed, Sir, I believe, that not any officer has ever been seconded with greater cordiality, zeal, and gallantry, than I have been, during this very toilsome and difficult service, by every rank of his Majesty's forces.

"You will do me the favour to present this letter, with my most humble duty, to the house; and to accept my acknowledgments, for the very obliging terms in which you have conveyed the commands of the house.

"I have the honour to be,
"With the most perfect respect,
"Your very obedient and faithful servant,
"G. Walpole."

"Mr. Speaker, April 29, 1796.

"I am honoured with your letter of the 22d of April, inclosing to me a resolution of the House of Assembly, that the Receiver-General do remit, to the agent of the island, the sum of five hundred guineas, for the purpose of purchasing a sword to be presented to me, as a testimony which the House entertains of my important services and distinguished merit in the suppression of the late rebellion of the Maroons of Trelawney-Town.

"Per-

" Perhaps, Sir, not any perſon has ever been placed in a predicament more unpleaſant than that in which I am at this moment; but, as the Houſe has thought fit not to accede to the agreement entered into between me and the Trelawney Maroons, and as their opinion of that treaty ſtands on their minutes very different to my conception of it, I am compelled to decline the honour which they have intended for me; but I muſt beg of you to aſſure the Houſe, that not any perſon would receive their favours with more gratitude than I ſhould, could I poſſibly do it with credit to myſelf.

" I have the honour to be,

" Your very obedient and faithful ſervant,

" G. WALPOLE.

" *The Honourable Speaker of the Aſſembly of Jamaica.*"

Reſolved, That a letter, laid before the Houſe by Mr. Speaker on Friday laſt, dated the 29th of April, 1796, from the Honourable Major-General Walpole, in anſwer to the Speaker's letter to him, incloſing the reſolution of the late Houſe of Aſſembly, " directing the Receiver-General to remit to the agent of the iſland the ſum of five hundred guineas, to purchaſe a ſword, to be preſented to him," contains a miſrepreſentation of their proceedings, and is couched in terms diſreſpectful and derogatory to the honour and dignity of the Houſe, and therefore that the ſaid letter ought to be expunged from their minutes,

No. IV.

Extracts from such parts of "A Statement of Facts respecting the settling of the Maroons in Nova Scotia," (transmitted by Sir John Wentworth, Lieutenant-Governor of that province, to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, under date of the 27th June 1799) *as convey charges against the honourable William Dawes Quarrell, Esquire, late Commissary of Maroons.*

1st. THAT Mr. Quarrell, "although he strenuously opposed, and with great freedom condemned, the measure of removing the Maroons from Jamaica, had the address to procure himself to be appointed agent for the island, for the declared purpose of securing to the injured Maroons, by his superintendence and care, permanent comforts, adequate to the justice, which he continually proclaimed and insisted was due to them, from Jamaica."

2d. That Mr. Quarrell "presented himself to Sir John Wentworth, as the volunteer guardian of an injured, oppressed, and singularly unfortunate and distressed people; for whom an establishment was to be procured at the expence of his employers; and who, since surrendering their arms, and a valuable district of country, where they (a terror to the island) resided in comfort

comfort and perfect independence, on the express consideration of being provided with a settlement equally comfortable, had been exposed to, and suffered, and were then suffering, extreme hardships and misery, in his (Mr. Quarrell's) opinion, very undeservedly."

3*d*. That " Mr. Quarrell, without any reserve, reprobated the idea of sending the Maroons to Sierra Leone, as a reproach of infamy to the people of Jamaica; and, with earnestness engaged, that the justice and liberality of the inhabitants and legislature of the island, however they might think their safety required the removal of the Maroons, would not suffer them to rest satisfied with any thing less than the settlement he solicited leave to establish for those Maroons in Nova Scotia. The chief, if not the only anxiety expressed by Mr. Quarrell, was an impatient desire to see the Maroons so fixed in Nova Scotia, as to prevent a removal to any other country, or being dispersed in this."

4*th*. That " while Sir John Wentworth was exerting his best judgment, and utmost endeavour with zeal and integrity, to promote the object of Mr. Quarrell's mission, by every assistance in his power, and persevered through every difficulty and discouragement in supporting Mr. Quarrell, both publicly and privately, without any the most distant thoughts of benefit of any kind to himself; or at any time, or by any act or endeavour whatever, either directly or indirectly, having sought (as Mr. Quarrell very unwarrantably has asserted he did) to have the Maroons taken from the charge

of

of the iſland's agents, and committed to his (Sir John Wentworth's) excluſive direction; Mr. Quarrell, and his aſſiſtant, conceiving different ſelfiſh views, ſecretly counteracted each other's meaſures; and the ſpeedy relief of the iſland of Jamaica, by eſtabliſhing the Maroons in the means and practice of providing for themſelves, by their own labour and induſtry, appeared to be no longer the object of their attention and united wiſhes."

5*th*. That "Mr. Quarrel paid 1000 *l.* to certain perſons, named Cochran, by way of profit to them for granting him aid, upon bills of exchange, which had been drawn by him for ſettling the Maroons, being returned to Halifax diſhonoured, for want of means."

6*th*. That "he adduced contradictory and anonymous letters in his teſtimony, and uſed all the wretched expedients of contrivance, to excuſe or veil miſconduct, and to procure more money; and deceived the Houſe of Aſſembly of Jamaica, into a determination to the prejudice of Sir John Wentworth, by unfair practices."

7*th*. That "Mr. Quarrell affects to lament, that inſtead of diſperſing the Maroons throughout Nova Scotia, in different vacant barracks, he was adviſed to ſettle them together at Preſton, though Mr. Tonge's project of ſending thoſe Maroons to the vacant barracks was never ſanctioned, much leſs approved of, by Mr. Quarrell; who, on the firſt mention, perceived the folly of the propoſition."

8*th*. That

8th. That " Mr. Tonge's second proposal for settling the Maroons, was communicated to Sir John Wentworth, not accompanied with the approbation of Mr. Quarrell, but the reverse, and has been brought forward by him (Mr. Quarrell) with design and unfairness."

9th. That Mr. Quarrell " has misstated the measure respecting the alleged promises of Sir John Wentworth, to recommend the removal of the Maroons; that the paper was written, after being earnestly and repeatedly urged by Mr. Quarrell, and contains no such idea, nor was any intended: It was solely to convey the wishes of the Maroons to Government, and by that fairness to do away and counteract the mistrusts insidiously implanted in their minds; it was done with the particular advice of Mr. Quarrell, and in his presence; That he read the paper; said it was fair; and reproved some of the Maroons for wanting any other satisfaction or statement."

10th. That " the loan of provisions for the Maroons, made by His Royal Highness Prince Edward, is not rightly stated by Mr. Quarrell: That Mr. Quarrell, and his assistant, were desired by the commissary-general to take their choice of flour, then landing from several vessels."

11th. That " the loss in respect to flour, may have been further increased by Mr. Quarrell's purchase at New-York; as, exclusive of considerable charges attending it, part of the purchase was so badly chosen,

that

that it was rejected by the Maroons, became sour in store; and finally, turned to no account."

12*th*. That "the communication between Colonel Leonard and the Maroons, under the guidance of Mr. Quarrell and his deputy, was a secret transaction on their part; as were many more: and Samuels, the Maroon, was clandestinely embarked, to promote views and purposes that they feared could not bear the test of inquiry, or even inspection."

13*th*. That "Samuels's expedition was unauthorised by any consent of the Duke of Portland, and was directly contrary to Sir John Wentworth's opinion, and tending to mischief only; as Mr. Quarrell was highly sensible of, when he afterwards urged Mr. Walpole, to procure something of consent from the Duke of Portland, and send to him (and also duplicate) that might enable him to escape the censure he expressed a just apprehension of, from a consciousness of having merited it."

14*th*. That "Sir John Wentworth solicited, and obtained, a valuable appointment for Colonel Leonard, like many other things stated in the evidence offered against Sir John Wentworth, is not true."

15*th*. That "it must appear evident, that the ideas contained in the sentiments of Mr. Quarrell, being for a moment suffered, would be of the most dangerous consequence: they are the infectious poison from which the

the French ufurpations have fpread the plague of revolt."

16*th*. That "Mr. Quarrell has inconfiderately hazarded much improper remark upon the Maroon accounts, for the period alluded to by him, as fuch accounts (to be tranfmitted) will prove: and they will fhew, that his predictions are no more entitled to credit, than his reprefentations are to belief."

17*th*. That "the commiffions ftated to have been given to Maroons, were given to them upon the requeft of the agents, who gave in the names of thofe for whofe fidelity they became a pledge of refponfibility, on the commiffions being figned in their prefence; and, when the mifconduct of the Maroons, and of their principal inftigator, was apparent, thofe appointments were vacated."

18*th*. That "Mr. Quarrell fent 3000 dollars to Mr. Moody, clerk to the Maroon concerns, with an invitation from himfelf and Mr. Tharp, to go, on their account, to Jamaica, where they engage to provide for him better than can be done in Nova Scotia."

Mr. Quarrell's Anſwer.

To the Chairman of the Maroon Committee;

The Anſwers of the Honourable William Dawes Quarrell, Eſq. late Commiſſary of Maroons, to Extracts from ſuch Parts of "A Statement of Facts reſpecting the ſettling of Maroons in Nova Scotia," (tranſmitted by the Lieutenant-Governor of that Province to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, under date of the 27th June 1799, and by the Chairman of the Maroon Committee tranſmitted to the ſaid William Dawes Quarrell) as are ſtated to convey Charges againſt the ſaid William Dawes Quarrell.

Sir,

Having delivered up the charge of the Maroon eſtabliſhment to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, (Sir John Wentworth) ſo long ſince as the 22d of July 1797; and Sir John Wentworth having, (during the time I was executing ſuch charge, frequently, and often afterwards), expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms, his unqualified approbation of my conduct, little did I expect, in the month of June 1799, to have charges of miſconduct and negligence, in the performance of my duty, in this ſervice, exhibited againſt me by Sir John Wentworth. Theſe charges, Sir, have been advanced by him. Whether he has ſucceeded in proving them, or not, the committee will determine. But, Sir, notwithſtanding ſuch miſconduct, notwithſtanding ſuch negligence in the performance of my duty, as is now for the firſt time attributed to me, I am confident that I ſhall be enabled ſatisfactorily to prove to the committee, *by Sir John*

Wentworth's own letters that he fully approved, of what he now condemns, and applauded the very conduct which is now the subject of these charges.

I shall proceed, Sir, severally, to answer the charges advanced against me, previously observing to the committee, that my answers will be given into them upon oath, whereas the charges exhibited against me by Sir John Wentworth, have not the sanction of an oath in their support.

Charge I. With respect to the *first* charge, Sir, I most positively deny, at any time, opposing or condemning the measure of removing the Maroons from Jamaica, nor could Sir John Wentworth have the smallest foundation for that part of the first charge, unless he considered as such, a vote given by me, as a member of the Honourable House of Assembly of this island, against receiving the report of the Secret Committee on Maroon affairs, early in the session of the year 1796, which I am certain the committee will be of opinion, is not a sufficient foundation for such a charge; and I submit to the committee, that any vote which I gave as a member of the Honourable House of Assembly of this island, ought not for any such purpose to be brought forward by Sir John Wentworth; but, Sir, that the committee may be fully informed of my sentiments upon this subject, I shall refer to my letter to Mr. Sewell, the agent for this island, then and yet resident in England, dated the 16th of December 1796, whereby it appears, that so far from opposing or condemning the measure of removing

moving

moving the Maroons from Jamaica, that I ſtated to Mr. Sewell the neceſſity of their removal, becauſe (amongſt other reaſons) "They, though not many in number, endangered the lives of thouſands of Britiſh ſubjects, and the ſecurity of this valuable iſland." As to the remaining part of the firſt charge, Sir, I muſt ſtate to the committee, that I acted with the concurrence, and by the deſire of the legiſlature of this iſland, on this occaſion; that upon my arrival at Halifax in Nova Scotia, I repreſented to that Government the peaceable and orderly behaviour of the Maroons during their paſſage, and aſſured the inhabitants of that province, that no danger was to be apprehended from them, as appears by my report on the Maroon eſtabliſhment dated the 27th November 1798: (*Inſerted in the Votes of the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly, A. D.* 1798, *p.* 116.) But that ſo far from my having made the aſſertions attributed to me by Sir John Wentworth in the latter part of the firſt charge, I tranſmitted to his Royal Highneſs Prince Edward, then at Halifax, a ſtatement (it is true) repreſenting the orderly conduct of the Maroons during their paſſage; but wherein, I particularly enumerated, and expreſsly dwelt upon, their aggreſſions and criminal conduct in this iſland. I have no copy of that ſtatement to produce to the committee, the original was left at Halifax, it paſſed through many hands there, and I have no doubt but that it is ſtill there extant, and might be produced if it could anſwer the purpoſe of ſupporting theſe, or any one of theſe, charges. The proceedings of the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly of this iſland, on the ſubject of the

removal of the Maroons, was alſo ſent with the abovementioned ſtatement, therefore I appeal to the committee, whether there is the ſmalleſt probability of my having aſſerted what I am charged with, when the abovementioned ſtatement and proceedings were direct contradictions to any ſuch aſſertions.

Charge II. The firſt part of the *ſecond* charge, Sir, accuſes me of preſenting myſelf to Sir John Wentworth "As the volunteer guardian of an injured and ſingularly unfortunate and diſtreſſed people." To that accuſation I ſhall only ſtate, that when I preſented myſelf to Sir John Wentworth, I delivered to him a letter (amongſt others) which I received from the Lieutenant-Governor of this iſland, (Lord Balcarres,) which letter is inſerted in p. 324 of Sir John Wentworth's ſtatement of facts, and which Sir John Wentworth, by his letter to Lord Balcarres, dated Halifax, Nova Scotia, 10th October 1796, (*printed in Votes of the honourable Houſe of Aſſembly, A. D.* 1796, *p.* 37.) acknowledged to have received from me; and at the ſame time I produced my commiſſion of commiſſary-general of Maroons to Sir John Wentworth, ſigned by Lord Balcarres: (*Vide Commiſſion, Votes of the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly, A. D.* 1796, *p.* 162.) That the character and ſituation I was placed in, muſt clearly appear by the abovementioned letter and commiſſion, and that I repreſented myſelf in no other character than I was juſtified in doing by thoſe documents. And upon the face of thoſe documents it appears that, inſtead of the Maroons

being

being confidered as " An injured and fingularly unfortunate and diftreffed people," they are there ftated to have broken out into open rebellion againft the laws and government of this ifland, and that their lives were only fpared, and mercy extended to them, in confideration of their furrendering themfelves within a given time. I admit, Sir, that I might have afferted, " That an eftablifhment was to be procured at the expence of the ifland of Jamaica;" the beforementioned letter and commiffion juftified me in making that affertion; but that I ever faid " That the Maroons furrendered their arms, and a valuable diftrict of country, on the exprefs confideration of being provided with a fettlement equally comfortable," I pofitively deny. The remaining part of this charge, as to my opinion that the Maroons had fuffered and were fuffering extreme hardfhips and mifery very undefervedly, I conceive, Sir, is fully anfwered in my anfwer to the firft charge, and by my anfwer to the firft part of this charge.

Charge III. As to the *third* charge, Sir, I alfo admit that I was averfe to fending the Maroons to Sierra Leone. My averfion principally arofe from the reprefentations of Lieutenant Wilfon of the Dover tranfport, (one of the three tranfports which conveyed the Maroons from this ifland to Halifax), who had long been employed in the fervice of the company trading to Sierra Leone, and who reprefented to me, that that fettlement was unhealthy in the extreme, and that it was a fettlement very unlikely to fucceed; but that " I reprobated the idea of

 fending

ſending the Maroons to Sierra Leone, as a reproach of infamy to the people of Jamaica," I abſolutely and unequivocally deny; and to prove to the committee, that I did think of ſending a part of the Maroons there, I ſhall refer to an extract of a letter hereto annexed, written by me to the late James Wedderburn, Eſquire, dated the 29th of October 1796, wherein I ſtated, "That the increaſing cold of the weather had made the Maroons, particularly ſome of the bad ſubjects, very peeviſh and diſcontent, and that three or four families had petitioned to be ſent to a warmer climate. Theſe happened to be the moſt turbulent and troubleſome, and as the Duke of Portland had ſaid that the Sierra Leone company offered to take a few families, I was deſirous of getting rid of them; that the others might be better accommodated, and more readily colonize in this country." I therein ſtated, that "A tranſport was offered by Prince Edward, and that I very readily aſſented to their embarkation; when ſuddenly the Governor made them unexpectedly a viſit, and I found afterwards that they had little deſire to go, &c." For the purpoſe of ſatisfactorily proving to the committee, that the latter part of this charge is totally void of foundation, in which Sir John Wentworth ſtates, that I engaged "That the inhabitants and legiſlature of this iſland would not reſt ſatisfied with any thing leſs than the ſettlement of the Maroons in Nova Scotia, and that I deſired to ſee the Maroons ſo fixed in Nova Scotia, as to prevent a removal to any other country, or being diſperſed in that;" I beg leave to refer to an extract of a letter to Lord Balcarres, dated

dated Halifax, 14th Feb. 1797, (*See Votes of the Assembly*,) wherein, after pointing out the disadvantages of the lands near Halifax, and advantages of those on the other side of the peninsula of Nova Scotia, with the evils attendant on keeping the Maroons in a collected body, I state " This among many other circumstances points out the propriety of separating and dispersing them, which will greatly facilitate our executing more speedily the intentions of the island of Jamaica." I must further refer to my letter of the 15th January 1797, to Mr. Sewell, (*See Votes of the House of Assembly*,) wherein a separation of the Maroons and different destinations are recommended; the most considerable number is that to Sierra Leone: and also to a letter from Mr. Sewell to the Duke of Portland, dated Great George Street, 27th March 1798, (*See Votes of Assembly, A. D.* 1798, *p.* 36.,) by which it will appear that in several of my letters to Mr. Sewell, I particularly recommended the settlement of the Maroons in other parts of America, for Mr. Sewell states in that letter as follows; " I trust it will be in your Grace's recollection, that I did myself the honour of transmitting to your Grace on the 21st September, extracts of letters which I had received from Mr. Commissary Quarrell, recommending *another part of North America* as being in his judgment the most suitable for their settlement."

The committee will also find, upon a reference to the report on the Maroon establishment in Nova Scotia, made by me to Lord Balcarres on the 27th

27th November 1798, (*Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D.* 1798, *p.* 117.,) that I therein, amongst other things, stated "That I thought of obtaining some lands, and escheating others, which I had heard favourably spoken of towards the coasts of the Bay of Fundy; that I conceived that dispersing the Maroons very extensively, was the only means of disposing of them properly; and that I wished even to spread and extend them in small settlements as far as New Brunswick."

If necessary, I could shew, by many other papers and documents, that the dispersion of the Maroons was the plan I meant and wished to pursue, but feel confident that what I have stated is sufficient to invalidate that part of the charge brought against me by Sir John Wentworth. I further beg leave, Sir, to state to the committee, that when the instructions came from England to Sir John Wentworth, authorizing him to settle the Maroons in Nova Scotia, and he had finally formed a plan of settlement for them at Preston, near Halifax, I thought myself bound to comply with such plan, and to give up my plan of settlement to that of Sir John Wentworth.

Charge IV. As to the first part of the *fourth* charge, I admit that I might have asserted, that Sir John Wentworth sought to have the exclusive management of the Maroons, or made some assertion to that effect; and I conceive I was fully justified in so doing, by the letters of Sir John Wentworth to the Duke of Portland, throughout which letters I am only

only considered as the commissary of this island, for the mere purpose of managing the pecuniary concerns of the Maroons, it necessarily following, that all other management and direction of them must be vested in Sir John Wentworth. An extract from one of those letters I will state, Sir, to the committee; in answer to this part of the charge, many might be stated were it requisite. This extract is taken from a letter from Sir John Wentworth to the Duke of Portland, dated Halifax, Nova Scotia, 20th September, 1796, in which he states, "That the Government of Jamaica having granted a liberal sum for commencing of the settlement of the Maroons, and appointed Mr. Quarrell commissary, and Mr. Ochterlony assistant-commissary, to superintend those benevolent intentions, it appeared to him expedient, that the *expenditure* should be transacted by them, and the monies requisite also drawn for by them on the agent of the island whereto they were authorized, and a proper credit, as he understood, lodged with Messrs. Milligan and Mitchell in London." And Sir John Wentworth states that, "that mode will be continued until his Grace might be pleased to direct *him* otherwise." And to prove, Sir, that I was not singular in my opinion, I shall refer to the answer given by Mr. Ochterlony to the first question in his further examination, (*Vide Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D.* 1798, *p.* 220.) where he states, "That a few weeks after our arrival, I saw evidently Sir John Wentworth's anxiety to get possession of the Maroons, and to have the disposal of the money of the island of Jamaica." As to the latter part of this charge, which

which is an accusation against my assistant and myself, for having selfish views, for counteracting each other's measures, and for being inattentive to the interests of the island of Jamaica, I cannot avoid observing, Sir, that this part of the fourth charge, so strangely contradictory of every previous statement of my conduct, like many of the other charges now exhibited against me by Sir John Wentworth, is extremely vague, general, and uncertain, not one definite fact being advanced in support of the assertions contained in it. I can only answer, Sir, this part of the fourth charge, by stating, that the interest of the island of Jamaica, throughout the whole of the business, and no private views of my own, was the constant object of my attention. And that the committee, Sir, will be of that opinion, I feel confident, when they shall have taken into consideration the whole tenor of my conduct in the establishment of the Maroons; by which means only, I conceive, can the truth or falshood of this part of the fourth charge be properly determined.

Charge V. In answer to the *fifth* charge, I must state to the committee, Sir, that after delivering up the charge of the Maroons to Sir John Wentworth, according to my instructions from the Honourable House of Assembly, I was compelled to remain in Halifax by the holders of the bills, which I had drawn on account of the Maroons, and which had been protested; as will appear upon reference to a letter of Sir John Wentworth to the Duke of Portland, dated Halifax 4th November 1797, (*Inserted in the*

Votes

Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1798 *p.* 32.) wherein he states, " that it is much to be regretted, that the island of Jamaica has not taken effectual measures for payment of the bills drawn by Mr. Quarrell for the support of the Maroons. The bill-holders decline consenting to his return to Jamaica; and the refusal of his drafts has so effectually suspended his credit, that he could not obtain any money or supplies for them, neither would any person take his bills on any terms." And Sir John Wentworth in that letter further stated: " That Mr. Quarrell felt himself much injured by the dishonour of his bills, and still more so in the consequent detention from his affairs in Jamaica." I must also beg leave to refer to the report of the Maroon sub-committee, (*Inserted in the Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D.* 1798, *page* 222,) wherein it is stated, " That by reason of Mr. Quarrell's bills being protested, he was detained in Nova Scotia and other parts of America, fifteen months after his mission was considered at an end." And I should have been detained there all the ensuing winter, had it not been for the relief afforded me by Messrs. Cochran; who in consideration of a commission, (equal perhaps to what Sir John Wentworth states,) which I allowed them, and which is there a very usual transaction, satisfactorily settled the business for me, and thereby released me from a still further detention in Halifax, where I had already been detained so long, to the manifest injury of my own private affairs.

Charge

Charge VI. With reſpect to the *ſixth* charge, Sir, I certainly have not adduced any anonymous letters; probably, Sir John Wentworth means letters under feigned names, if ſo, I admit having adduced two ſuch letters, entered in the Votes of the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly, A. D. 1798, page 205, and 207, appendix B. No. 9, and 11, ſigned John Bunyan, which were written by a Mr. Chamberlain. In fact Mr. Chamberlain, in a certain circle, was as frequently called by one name as the other, and as often wrote letters under the former ſignature as the latter, (Vide a letter ſigned T. Chamberlain in the Votes of the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly, A. D. 1798, page 208, appendix B. No. 12.) and his letters, under both thoſe ſignatures, if referred to, will convince the committee, that the perſon writing under thoſe ſignatures, is one and the ſame perſon. I am not aware of having produced, *on my part*, any contradictory letters. And in regard to the latter part of this charge, which if founded in fact, would be a very ſerious one, "of my uſing every expedient to veil miſconduct, and deceiving the Houſe into a determination to the prejudice of Sir John Wentworth by unfair means," I think it was incumbent upon Sir John Wentworth, to have ſtated what thoſe unfair means were, and not to make ſo general a charge, and ſo heavy in its nature without producing evidence, and that ſtrong and concluſive in ſupport of it; but as I am confident of not having made uſe of any undue or unfair means for any purpoſe whatever in the courſe of this buſineſs, and as Sir John Wentworth has not pointed out even one ſolitary inſtance of my having done ſo,

I truſt

I truſt that the committee will not for a moment conceive, that there is any ground or foundation for ſuch a charge.

Charges VII. & VIII. I conceive, Sir, that the firſt part of the *ſeventh* charge, with reſpect to the diſperſion of the Maroons, is ſufficiently anſwered by my anſwer to the third charge; and with regard to the propoſal of Mr. Tonge, in the *eighth* charge, I know but of one, which was made to me by letter from Mr. Tonge, dated the 10th of July 1797. (*Vide letter in Votes of the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly, A. D.* 1798, *page* 213. *Appendix B. No.* 16.) This propoſal of Mr. Tonge's, was made, as the committee will perceive, only twelve days before I ſurrendered up the charge of the Maroons to Sir John Wentworth; I therefore referred Mr. Tonge to Sir John Wentworth, reſpecting his propoſal, without giving him my ſentiments upon the ſubject.

Charge IX. In anſwer to the *ninth* charge, it is neceſſary that I ſhould ſtate to the committee, that there was a verbal promiſe made by Sir John Wentworth to the Maroons, to the ſame purport as the written one, (*The letter is inſerted in the Votes of the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly* 1798, *Appendix B. No.* 6.) and upon ſuch verbal promiſe, I never was conſulted; the verbal promiſe was made in the winter, and the written one not delivered till the May following. I admit the reading of the written promiſe to the Maroons, together with other papers, by the

 deſire

desire of Sir John Wentworth, observing to them at the same time, that they had thereby received more from Sir John Wentworth than they would have done from me. I was ever delicate in giving my advice against any measures Sir John Wentworth determined on; and although I believed he made use of the written promise, merely as an expedient to quiet their minds, yet I never could, or did approve of any promise, which might furnish the Maroons with a plea for withholding the interests they should have taken in improving the lands which were allotted to them; and by my answer to the thirteenth query of my examination taken before a committee of the Honourable House of Assembly, (*Inserted in the Votes of that Honourable House, A. D.* 1798, *page* 197.) it will appear, " that I thought all promises of removal to be made to the Maroons, or any thing that tended to give them any expectation of removal, were extremely prejudicial and improper.

Charge X. With regard to the *tenth* charge, I must state to the committee, Sir, that I was supplied with some provisions for the Maroons, from the public magazines, by the order of His Royal Highness Prince Edward, at the request of Sir John Wentworth; that such provisions consisted of thirty-two barrels of good beef and pork, and two hundred tierces of very bad flour, as I have before stated in my answer to query sixth of my examination before a committee of the Honourable House of Assembly, (*Vide Votes of that House, A. D.* 1798, *page* 196,)

and

and I positively deny that I have made any mistatement on this subject; for I and my assistant had no choice, the flour was agreed for, in confidence of its being good; it was inspected immediately on its being landed on the wharf, it could not be inspected before, and it then proved bad.

Charge XI. In answer to the *eleventh* charge, it will be necessary for me to refer to my report to Lord Balcarres on the Maroon establishment, dated the 27th November 1788, (*Vide Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D.* 1798, *page* 118,) by which it will appear, that "our stores of potatoes having been frozen and destroyed in the cellars, commonly esteemed frost-proof, a circumstance not usual, but at that time pretty general; and the encreased price of flour, indicating not only a scarcity, but a probable famine, induced me to go to New York, with a view of making some contract there, which might be a certain and more reasonable supply than might be expected at Halifax." I did go to New York, and did make a contract for some flour there, and most positively assert, in contradiction to this charge, that the flour I had from New York was cheaper than that I bought in Hallifax, it was good and sound, and was all used except forty barrels of the rye flour, which were sold by auction for more money than they originally cost, and the sum they sold for is credited by me in my accounts.

Charge XII. Sir John Wentworth alleges, Sir, in the *twelfth* charge, "that there was a secret com-

munication between Colonel Leonard and the Maroons, under the guidance of myſelf and deputy:" in anſwer to which, I poſitively deny having any knowledge of any ſuch tranſaction. Colonel Leonard was a ſtranger to me, nor ſhould I have known him, had he not been introduced to me by Sir John Wentworth. Colonel Leonard reſided at Sir John Wentworth's houſe, in the character of his particular friend, whoſe viſits to Maroon-hall during his reſidence in Halifax, (for ſeveral weeks previous to the ſailing of the packet in which he went to England,) Sir John Wentworth was well acquainted with; that as I underſtood the object of Colonel Leonard's voyage, was to ſee the Duke of Portland, I did what I conceived Sir John Wentworth wiſhed, gave him every information in my power reſpecting the Maroon eſtabliſhment, in order that he might be competent to give ſuch information to the Duke of Portland on his arrival in England. And in anſwer to the laſt part of the twelfth charge, and to the whole of

Charge XIII. I ſhall in the firſt place refer to an extract of a letter from General Walpole to me, dated the 22d of September 1796, in which he ſtates as follows: " I have obtained permiſſion from the Duke of Portland to ſend for any of the Maroons I pleaſe, this is the cauſe of my troubling you at this moment. I agreed to take a brother of Smith's, Charles Samuels, into my ſervice, and I ſhall thank you, if he chooſes to come here to me, to have him taken care of on board ſome merchant ſhip coming to

to London, and draw on Meſſrs. Walpole and Co. Lombard Street, London, for the expence, to be charged to my account." I ſhall alſo refer to a letter written by me to Mr. Sewell, dated Halifax 25th April 1797, (*Vide Votes of the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly, A. D.* 1798, *page* 214,) wherein, among other things, I ſtated as follows: "I ſuppoſe it is known to you that General Walpole has had the Duke of Portland's permiſſion to ſend for two Maroons; one goes home in the packet with Colonel Leonard." Theſe extracts, Sir, I contend, muſt be amply ſufficient to prove to the committee, that this was not a ſecret or clandeſtine tranſaction, as it is alleged to be by Sir John Wentworth. And further, to ſhew that the ſending of the Maroons to England, was not unauthoriſed by the Duke of Portland. I ſhall refer to an extract of a letter from the Duke of Portland to General Walpole, on application for a copy of his Grace's order to Sir John Wentworth, which is in itſelf, I conceive, a ſufficient juſtification for me; it is dated, Whitehall 19th October 1797, and is as follows: "Sir, The Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia will be informed that the Maroons in queſtion came here by permiſſion, which will be a full juſtification to Mr. Quarrell: at the ſame time I muſt inform you, that it is not judged expedient to give copies of any orders or inſtructions from this office upon individual application." And I think it neceſſary, Sir, further to ſtate, that I mentioned to Sir John Wentworth, that Samuels was to go to England with Colonel Leonard, many weeks before he ſailed;

 that

that Sir John Wentworth did not oppoſe, but aſſented to it, and that had he made the ſlighteſt objection, Samuels would not have been ſent.

Charge XIV. With reſpect to the *fourteenth* charge, I admit that in my report to Lord Balcarres, of the 27th November 1798, (*as by reference to the Votes of the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly of that year, page* 119, *will appear*,) I ſtated that "Colonel Leonard was recommended by Sir John Wentworth to the Duke of Portland for a lucrative employment, which he obtained." I ſtated it, becauſe I had been moſt credibly informed that it was ſo, at Halifax, and from the information I received, moſt undoubtedly believed it to be true; but I am ready alſo to admit, that on this ſubject I may have been miſinformed.

Charge XV. The *fifteenth* charge, Sir, I feel myſelf compelled to ſtate, is ſo abſurd, both as to the manner in which it is framed, and as to the matter which I ſuppoſe it is intended to convey, that I conceive it neither deſerving or entitled to a moment's conſideration. I preſume, Sir John Wentworth means, by that charge, to attack my political ſentiments; if ſo, Sir, the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly, and the whole Legiſlature of this Iſland, are certainly better judges of my political ſentiments, than Sir John Wentworth; and it is known to them, I am well ſatisfied, that ſo far from there being any foundation for ſuch an extraordinary charge, that my political ſentiments and conduct have ever been,

 and

and are, moſt loyal and conſtitutional, and diametrically the reverſe of thoſe he would inſinuate.

Charge XVI. With reſpect to the *ſixteenth* charge, Sir, it is certainly at preſent unneceſſary for me to ſtate more, in my anſwer to that charge, than, that when the accounts ſo long delayed, ſhall be laid before the Houſe, Sir John Wentworth and I ſhall be at iſſue on this charge, and I pledge myſelf, Sir, when thoſe accounts do ſo appear, to prove (if required,) that I have not hazarded one ſingle improper remark on the Maroon Accounts, for the period alluded to *.

Charge XVII. With regard to the commiſſions which were given to the Maroons, mentioned in the *ſeventeenth* charge, I beg leave to ſtate, Sir, that on the alarm occaſioned in Halifax by Richerry's ſquadron, Sir John Wentworth propoſed to embody the Maroons as a military corps, *(ſee my anſwer to the twenty-eighth query of my examination before the Maroon committee in the Votes of the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly, A. D.* 1798, *p.* 200,) that Sir John Wentworth applied to me to recommend ſuch Maroons as were beſt deſerving of commiſſions, that the granting of them might be conſidered by the Maroons as a reward of merit; that I accordingly gave in ſome names to Sir John Wentworth, and in conſequence thereof, commiſſions were ſent to the Maroons, I had ſo named, *by Sir John Wentworth*

* When the accounts did appear, Mr. Quarrell's eſtimate proved to be much lower than they exhibited.

 himſelf;

himself; but, Sir, such commissions *were not signed in my presence.*

Charge XVIII. For an answer to the *last* charge, Sir, I beg leave to refer the committee to an affidavit of Mr. Moody, sworn here the 29th of December 1799, and to the invoice thereto annexed, by which documents, I conceive, it will plainly and evidently appear to the committee, that the transaction alluded to in this charge, was a private mercantile transaction between Mr. Moody, Mr. Tharpe and myself, and that it was totally separate and distinct from, and had no connection whatever with, the establishment of the Maroons.

Having answered, Sir, and I trust satisfactorily, the several charges exhibited against me by Sir John Wentworth, I shall conclude what I have to state to the committee, by adverting to and taking extracts from several letters of Sir John Wentworth, written to different persons, both during the time that I had the charge of the Maroon establishment, and also after I had surrendered up such charge to Sir John Wentworth; whereby it will clearly appear, that Sir John Wentworth did not merely approve of my conduct, but thought it (to use his own words), entitled "to the fullest terms of his respect and approbation." The first letter which I shall refer to, Sir, for the above purpose, is a letter from Sir John Wentworth to the Duke of Portland, dated Nova Scotia 20th September 1796, when, alluding to the government of Jamaica being gene-

generously disposed to render the Maroons happy, he states, that "among other reasons for this opinion is the judicious choice of Mr. Quarrell and Mr. Ochterlony, to accompany and superintend the interests of these poor people. I cannot do adequate justice to the affectionate zeal, unwearied assiduity, great judgment and perfect disinterestedness which these gentlemen invariably exert under my immediate and hourly observation to effect the excellent intentions of their constituents," &c. &c.

In another letter also, Sir, of Sir John Wentworth's to Lord Balcarres, dated Halifax, Nova Scotia 10th October 1796, (*Vide Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A.D.* 1796, *p.* 37,) after stating that he had recommended the best measures to effect the salutary purpose of providing for the comfort and preservation of the Maroons, Sir John Wentworth further states "which Mr. Quarrell and Mr. Ochterlony pursue with unexampled zeal, patience, and affectionate care." And in a letter also, Sir, of Sir John Wentworth to myself, dated Government House, Halifax 17th June 1797, (*Inserted in the Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A.D.* 1798, *p.* 214,) after mentioning that a person should be ready to make bricks, and build and repair houses for the Maroons; he states "I shall render every assistance in my power, and doubt not of your kindest concurrence for the benefit of these poor deceived people, who have been so much indebted to your benevolent attention, that you ought not finally to be frustrated in their establishment, which you have

 always

always had ſo much at heart, and not a little intereſted me in promoting." And further, Sir, in a letter from Sir John Wentworth to Lord Balcarres, dated Halifax Nova Scotia 4th Auguſt 1797, which the committee will obſerve, is after I had ſurrendered up the charge of the Maroon eſtabliſhment to Sir John Wentworth, (*and which letter is inſerted in the Votes of the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly, A. D.* 1798, *p.* 31.) Sir John Wentworth ſtates at follows, " It is alſo a duty of juſtice to your Lordſhip and to the iſland, that I fail not to repreſent Mr. Quarrell's conduct, in the fulleſt terms of reſpect and approbation; his unremitted humanity, care and attention to do every thing that could be uſeful to the Maroons, and ſenſible zeal for the honour and intereſt of his employers, certainly entitle him to the laſting affection of the Maroons, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed and grateful conſideration of the government, and every individual of the iſland of Jamaica, which I earneſtly hope may add to the comfort of his ſafe arrival in his own country." After theſe extracts, which I truſt, Sir, the committee will be of opinion are fully ſufficient to prove the decided approbation of my conduct, by Sir John Wentworth in the Maroon eſtabliſhment; I ſhall only advert generally to one letter more from Sir John Wentworth to Lord Balcarres, dated on the 13th of June 1798, (*and inſerted in the Votes of the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly of that year, p.* 38,) wherein, amongſt other things, Sir John Wentworth ſtates, " that the Maroon eſtabliſhment ſtill remains nearly the ſame as I committed it to him," which clearly proves, that at that

that time Sir John Wentworth had no reaſon for, or intention of accuſing me of either negligence or miſconduct in that ſervice. After ſuch ſentiments, Sir, and ſuch opinions of my conduct in the Maroon eſtabliſhment, ſo expreſſed by Sir John Wentworth, little reaſon certainly had I to apprehend an accuſation from him; and how Sir John Wentworth can account for ſuch inconſiſtency of conduct, I know not, nor is it neceſſary for me to enquire. The deciſion on the propriety of my conduct, Sir, throughout the whole of this buſineſs, I moſt willingly leave to the Committee, ſatisfied in my own mind, that by their report to the Honourable Houſe of Aſſembly, they will exculpate me from the ſeveral charges adduced againſt me by Sir John Wentworth; and I hope and truſt, will further be of the ſame opinion, Sir John Wentworth ſome ſhort time ſince was, namely, that ſo far from my having been guilty of either negligence or miſconduct in my management of the Maroons, that from my attention to them, and zeal for the honour and intereſt of this iſland, I am entitled to the grateful conſideration of its government.

W. D. QUARRELL.

No. V.

Opinion of Sir William Scott, his Majeſty's Advocate-General, on the Eſtabliſhment of an Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction over the Clergy of Jamaica, in a Letter to his Grace the Duke of Portland.

"My lord duke,

"I AM honoured with your Grace's letter, dated the 16th May, tranſmitting to me an extract from an addreſs of the Aſſembly of Jamaica to his Majeſty, praying that the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, granted by an act of the iſland to the Biſhop of London, may be placed in the hands of the perſon exerciſing his Majeſty's government in Jamaica for the time being, and deſiring me to take the ſame into my conſideration, and report to your Grace, for his Majeſty's information, my opinion in regard to the mode of delegating the authority given to the Biſhop by the ſaid act, and in regard to the perſon or perſons to whom the ſame may, with moſt propriety, be delegated, with a view of its being executed on the ſpot, in a manner the moſt beneficial to the iſland: in obedience to your Grace's directions, I have taken the ſame into my conſideration, and humbly report, that the propoſed delegation of the power of eccleſiaſtical regimen, over the body of the clergy in the iſland of Jamaica, into the hands of the Governor, appears to be

be liable to objections of no inconsiderable weight; for, although it is certainly true, that many other powers, which are in England associated with the episcopal authority, such as the probate of wills, and the grant of administrations, and the like, are in his Majesty's colonies exercised by the respective governors, under the title of *ordinaries*, yet it is to be observed, that these are powers in no degree ecclesiastical in their own nature, but became accidentally connected with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this, and in other countries in Europe, in consequence of opinions and dispositions prevailing in remote times, and have only continued in that state of connection, from a prudent regard to ancient institutions, not found to be inconsistent, in their modern practice, with the just convenience of the public: but the immediate government of the clergy, in the modes of ecclesiastical discipline, is a power purely ecclesiastical, and has in all ages, and in almost all professions of Christianity, been lodged in the clergy themselves, either exclusively, as in the episcopal and many other of the reformed churches, or in association with some of the laity, as in churches of a more democratic constitution; and to lodge such a power in the single person of a lay governor, would be a novelty in the practice of the Christian church, upon this matter, and, as I humbly submit, a novelty not likely to be productive of salutary effects, when it is considered, that the person on whom this authority is proposed to be conferred, will rarely be a person who, whatever other qualifications he may possess, can be furnished, from the studies and habits of his life, with any intimate knowledge of the nature and exercise

of

of the paſtoral office. It is likewiſe to be remarked, that this power of adminiſtering eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, is propoſed to be governed, not by the ancient eccleſiaſtical law, that is, by the ancient canons adopted by the Church of England, or by its own modern canons, ſanctioned by the royal authority, but, " by ſuch regulations as ſhall hereafter be provided by the legiſlature of Jamaica;" thereby expoſing the body of the clergy to the hazard of conſiderable alterations in the nature of their functions, and ſubjecting them to a poſſible ſyſtem of rules, unknown to the general law by which their duties and rights are aſcertained in that parent church of which they are miniſters, wherever it is eſtabliſhed, in any part of his Majeſty's dominions.

" Under theſe conſiderations, I would humbly ſubmit that, as the Biſhops of London have uniformly declined to exerciſe the juriſdiction which has been offered to them by the act of the legiſlature, the mode of exerciſing it, moſt analagous to the general practice of the Church, and the leaſt expoſed to the perils attendant on innovation, would be, if his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, in his character of Supreme Head of the Church, to nominate three or more reſpectable clergymen of the iſland to be his commiſſaries, for the purpoſe of exerciſing, jointly and ſynodically, diſcipline over the clergy only; ſuch commiſſaries to have the power of cenſuring, ſuſpending, or removing, any offending clergyman; but, under the reſerve, that no ſentence of deprivation (by which freehold rights would be affected) ſhould be carried into execution, without the conſent of the

Governor;

Governor; subject, nevertheless, to an appeal, as in other plantation cases, to his Majesty in Council, if that consent should be deemed to be unduly refused.

"If his Majesty should be pleased to elect this mode of answering the purposes of the Assembly, as explained in their address, it will be necessary, I presume, for the legislature of the island to repeal that act, by which they transferred this part of the royal supremacy to the Bishops of London, and revest it in his Majesty, and likewise, to make some further provisions for aiding the process, and executing the sentences, of his Majesty's commissaries.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"Wm. Scott.

"*January 7th*, 1798.

"*To his Grace the Duke of Portland, &c. &c. &c.*"

No. VI.

An exact Summary of the Returns of Imports and Exports presented to the Honourable House of Assembly of Jamaica, on the 10th of November 1802, by the Naval Officer.

TO Great Britain—58,155hhds. 5,722 tierces, 726 barrels of sugar; 10,943 puncheons, 539 hhds. of rum; 28 bags, 16 casks of ginger; 2,221 bags, 426 casks of pimento; 65,921 bags of coffee.

To Ireland—2,186 hhds. 442 tierces, 952 barrels of sugar; 1,522 puncheons, 198 hhds. of rum; 5 bags, 20 casks of pimento; 65,921 bags of coffee.

To the British Plantations—112 hhds. 3 tierces, 273 barrels of sugar; 1,511 puncheons, 158 hhds. of rum; 11 casks of pimento; 41,381 bags of coffee.

To the United States—776 hhds. 105 tierces, 246 barrels of sugar; 2,980 puncheons, 26 hhds. of rum; 695 bags, 6 casks of ginger; 185 bags, 17 casks of pimento; 1,083,821 bags of coffee.

To the Spanish Main—564 puncheons, 296 hhds. 473 barrels, and 205 kegs of rum.

Total

Total from this port—61,229 hhds. 6,272 tierces, 2,197 barrels of ſugar; 17,520 puncheons, 1,217 hhds. 473 barrels, 205 kegs of rum; 723 bags, 22 caſks of ginger; 2,411 bags, 474 caſks of pimento; 12,799,595 lbs. of coffee.

From the Out-Ports.

To Great Britain—67,726 hhds. 8,893 tierces, 120 barrels of ſugar; 15,985 puncheons, 773 hhds. of rum; 309 bags, 1 caſk of ginger; 3,715 bags, 113 caſks of pimento; 5,103,119 lbs. of coffee.

To the Britiſh Plantations—130 hhds. 75 tierces, 12 barrels of ſugar; 1,393 puncheons, 70 hhds. of rum; 60 caſks of melaſſes; 14,264 lbs. of coffee.

To the United States—459 hhds. 165 tierces, 74 barrels of ſugar; 10,730 puncheons, 13 hhds. of rum; 306 caſks of melaſſes; 1,047 bags of ginger; 1,667 bags, 4 caſks of pimento; 44,945 lbs. of coffee.

To the Spaniſh Main—4 puncheons of rum.

Total from the Out-Ports—68,315 hhds. 9,133 tierces, 206 barrels of ſugar; 28,112 pucheons, 856 hhds. of rum; 366 caſks of melaſſes; 1,356 bags, 1 caſk of ginger; 5,382 bags, 117 caſks of pimento; 5,162,328 lbs. of coffee.

Grand total.—129,544 hhds. 15,405 tierces, 2,403 barrels of ſugar; 45,632 puncheons, 2,073 hhds. 473 barrels, 205 kegs of rum; 366 caſks of melaſſes;

2,079 bags, 23 casks of ginger; 7,793 bags, 591 casks of pimento; 17,961,923 lbs. of coffee.

The increase, since last year, is about 4,000 hhds. of sugar; 4,560,455 lbs. of coffee; 1,840 bags of ginger.

The decrease, about 3,000 puncheons of rum; 6,291 bags, 57 casks of pimento.

Account of Horses, Cattle, &c. imported into this Island during the same Period, viz.

To this port—1,207 horses, 2,343 mules, 137 asses, 2,188 horned cattle.

To the Out-Ports—1,163 horses, 84 mules, 3 asses, 2,431 horned cattle.

Total imported—2,370 horses, 2,427 mules, 140 asses, 4,619 horned cattle.

The increase, since last year, 139 horned cattle.

The decrease, 76 horses, 2,032 mules, 50 asses.

An Account of Provisions, Lumber, &c. imported into this Island from the United States of America during the same Period.

In American bottoms—87,635 barrels of flour; 17,083 bags, 9,818 barrels, 3,834 kegs of bread; 2,331 tierces, 403 half-tierces of rice; 1,104 casks, 10,952 barrels, 1,123 kegs, 1,165 boxes of fish; 2,025 barrels

barrels of beef; 6,931 barrels of pork; 2,214 firkins of butter; 10,773,897 feet of lumber; 14,107,584 ſtaves and heading; 8,837,300 ſhingles; 2,717 barrels, 10,413 buſhels of peaſe; 174 caſks, 108,640 buſhels of corn.

Total imported in British Bottoms.

16,727 barrels of flour; 1,712 bags, 878 barrels, 400 kegs, 15 quintals of bread; 1,089 tierces, 322 half-tierces of rice; 191 caſks, 2,172 barrels, 329 kegs, 87 boxes of fiſh; 377 barrels of beef; 1,873 barrels of pork; 178 firkins of butter; 1,430,722 feet of lumber; 1,566,241 ſtaves and heading; 627,050 ſhingles; 199 barrels, 298 buſhels of peaſe; 63 caſks, 14,037 buſhels of corn.

Total imported from the United States.

104,362 barrels of flour; 18,795 bags, 10,696 barrels, 4,234 kegs, 15 quintals of fiſh; 3,420 tierces, 725 half-tierces of rice; 1,295 caſks, 13,124 barrels, 1,452 kegs, 1,452 boxes of fiſh; 2,402 barrels of beef; 8,804 barrels of pork; 2,392 firkins of butter; 12,204,619 feet of lumber; 15,673,825, ſtaves and heading; 9,464,350 ſhingles, 2,916 barrels, 19,714 buſhels of peaſe; 237 caſks, 122,647 buſhels of corn.

Produce exported to the United States of America during the ſame Period.

American veſſels—12,328 puncheons, 25 hhds. of rum; 257 caſks of melaſſes.

Total exported in British Veſſels.

1,235 hhds. 270 tierces, 320 barrels of ſugar; 1,382 puncheons, 14 hhds. of rum; 49 caſks of melaſſes; 1,742 bags, 6 caſks of ginger; 1,852 bags, 21 caſks of pimento; 1,128,766 lbs. of coffee.

Total exported to the United States.

1,235 hhds. 270 tierces, 320 barrels of ſugar; 13,710 puncheons, 39 hhds. of rum; 306 caſks of melaſſes; 1,742 bags, 6 caſks of ginger; 1,852 bags, 21 caſks of pimento; 1,128,766 lbs of coffee.

THE END.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Succinct History of Jamaica.

Page	*Line*	
xxviii	19	*after* alluded *insert* to
xxix	25	*for* and it being *read* and being
	26	it excited *read* excited
xxxiii	18	has *read* have
l	9	*after* June *insert* 1692
	20	*for* on *read* or
lix	1	Brae *read* Brac
lxvii	6	800 *read* 8000
lxix	6	*after* consisted *insert* of
	15	*before* with *insert* but not
lxxii	12	*for* draught *read* drought
lxxiii	24	marble *read* marle
lxxvi	13	towards *read* from the
xcvi	5	stricking *read* striking

History of the Maroons.

2	6	*for* inportant *read* important
148	18	Green Vale *read* Spring Vale
182	18	and retired, next day, the 12th at noon, to the settlement of Schaw Castle, *read* burnt Schaw Castle, and sent their women and children into their defile.
213	11	where *read* whence
218	3	here *read* hence
240	14	were *read* was
313	9	contained marks *read* contained in them marks

VOL. II.

40	2	of the note, *for* No. 2. *read* No. 1.
44	21	*dele* of
53	18	*dele* the
57	1	*insert* though *before* he
60	8	*for* with *read* between
91	6	, on the other; *read* ; or the other,
183	11	of the note, *read* than a planter would
192	6	*for* it *read* them
193	19	for *read* from
212	7	was generally *read* were generally
310	17	in *read* on
356	14	opinions *read* opinion
382	15	*dele* equally
385	7	*for* the state *read* the present state
426	13	touched *read* affected

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Anti-Jacobin Rev. May 1802.

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